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State-Funded International Voluntary Service in Developing Countries. A Case Study of the German Weltwärts program

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ERASMUS MUNDUS GLOBAL STUDIES

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State-Funded International Voluntary Service in Developing Countries:

A Case Study of the German Weltwärts program

Master Thesis

Written under the supervision of

Prof. Dr. Hab. Elżbieta Stadtmüller

Content

| | |
|---|-----|
| List of Abbreviations..... | I |
| List of Figures | II |
| Abstract | III |
| 1 Introduction | 1 |
| 2 Theoretical Concepts and Definitions | 6 |
| 2.1 Theory of Global Learning and Civic Engagement..... | 6 |
| 2.2 Theory of a Concealed Concept of Elitism, Imperialism and State Interest | 9 |
| 3 Historical Pathway of International Voluntary Service | 11 |
| 3.1 Genesis of International Voluntary Service: Colonialism and World War Reconstruction..... | 12 |
| 3.2 International Voluntary Service after the Second World War: United Nations, Cold War and the Paradigm of Development | 13 |
| 3.3 International Voluntary Service in the Post Cold War Era: The Rise of Global Civil Society and its Controversy..... | 14 |
| 4 The Case Study Weltwärts | 21 |
| 4.1 The Institutional Framework | 22 |
| 4.2 The Weltwärts Survey | 26 |
| 4.2.1 Methodical Approach..... | 26 |
| 4.2.2 Results | 28 |
| 5 Analysis of the Program | 31 |
| 5.1 The Question of Imperialism..... | 31 |
| 5.2 The Question of State Interest | 32 |
| 5.3 The Question of Elitism..... | 39 |
| 5.4 The Question of Civic Engagement..... | 45 |
| 5.5 The Question of Global Learning..... | 49 |
| 6 Conclusion:..... | 54 |
| 7 Bibliography..... | 58 |
| Documents and Reports | 58 |
| Books..... | 62 |
| Articles | 64 |
| Newspaper Articles | 70 |
| 8 Appendix | 71 |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|---|
| BMZ | Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung |
| CSD | Center for Social Development |
| EU | European Union |
| FK | Fredkorpset Norway |
| G-FD | International Voluntary Service under state-regulated law International Geregelte Freiwilligendienste |
| GSI | Global Service Institute |
| IVS | International Voluntary Service |
| LSE | London School of Economics |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| P-FD | International Voluntary Service under private law Privatrechtliche Freiwilligendienste |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| VENRO | German umbrella organization of non-governmental organizations Verband Entwicklungspolitik deutscher Nichtregierungsorganisationen |
| SAGE Net | South African German Network |

List of Figures

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 1: The Institutional Structure of International Voluntary Services in Germany | 36 |
| Figure 2: The distribution of Visa-free travel | 41 |
| Figure 3: The Integration of a Reverse Program within the Weltwärts Concepts | 43 |
| Figure 4: The IVS program “Fredskorpset Norway” | 44 |
| Figure 5: Method of the Intercultural Development Index | 51 |
| Figure 6: Different stages of the Intercultural Development Continuum | 51 |

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the concept of International Voluntary Service in developing countries. Since the beginning of the 21st century, there has been an enormous increase in volunteers from the Western World participating in this form of Voluntary Service. What are the reasons and motivations for this enlargement? Are we on the threshold of a Global Civil Society, supported by the tremendous growth of non-governmental organizations in the last decade, paving the way for a more altruistic human coexistence and intercultural understanding? Or, is it rather self service of Western populations based on questionable generosity? What roles state interests play in this regard and to which extent are the histories of colonialism and imperialism reflected? These are the central questions which will be investigated. At the beginning, two theories are presented dialectically: The theory of global learning and civic engagement will be explained on the one hand and the theory of a concealed concept of elitism, state interest and imperialism will be explained on the other. The central question of the thesis asks in what way these two theories apply to International Voluntary Service in Developing Countries. To assess this question, the historical pathway of International Voluntary is first explored. The second step analyzes the state-funded German International Voluntary program Weltwärts as a case study, based on official documents and an empirical survey. Finally, an analysis of the program is conducted by questioning the central theoretical categories of elitism, state interest, and imperialism, as well as civic engagement and global learning.

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1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on the concept of International Voluntary Service in developing countries. Since the beginning of the 21st century, there has been an enormous increase of volunteers from the Western World¹ participating in this form of Voluntary Service (cf. Kaldor 2003:585; Sherraden 2007:1). In a very general approach, International Voluntary-Service (IVS) “represents the contribution of one’s time to some cause, which is largely uncompensated and spent in a country other than one’s home country” (Mc Bride & Daftary 2005: 1). In that sense, it can be described as a distinct programmatic form of voluntary civic service. A professor at Missouri University in St. Louis, Margaret Sherraden, defines civic service as “an organized period of substantial engagement and contribution to the local, national, or world community, recognized and valued by society, with minimal monetary compensation to the participant” (ibid:2). Civic thus refers to actions and services performed voluntarily in the public realm (cf. ibid: 2).

Nevertheless, there is a huge range of different administrative structures and ideological perspectives throughout the organizations that run such programs. This applies to the duration and the form of placement; some programs exclusively focus on bilateral collaborations, while other programs include transnational exchanges between several countries. Further, the institutional framework and connected goals vary widely regarding the focus on skill improvement, civic engagement, cultural integration, local capacity building, and economic development (cf. Mc Bride & Sherraden 2005:1). IVS has a long history, the origins of which can be traced back to 18th and 19th century colonialism (Mc Bride & Daftary 2005:4/ Lewis 2006:1).

However, the scientific attention paid to this field of research was very pure until the end of the 20th century (Mc Bride 2004:10). This changed to some extent at the beginning of the new century. In 2001, the Center for Social Development (CSD) in St. Louis, as well as the Global Service Institute (GSI) in Washington DC – both supported by funds from the Ford Foundation – became the two central institutions for this area of research. From then on, the CSD in particular has published a great variety of empirical research papers with both qualitative and especially quantitative studies represented. A huge effort has been made to

¹ The terms Western or Western World refer in this thesis to the countries of North-America (USA, Canada) and Europe

build a first-person knowledge base and to get more detailed information about the structure and forms of IVS (cf. Mc Bride 2004, Sherraden 2006). In addition, questions of effectiveness, patterns of inclusion regarding participating countries, and the volunteers, as well as the historical origin of IVS, have been investigated by these institutions (cf. Lough 2009, Mc Bride 2005, Sherraden 2007). Another central institution according to International Voluntary Service is the Center for Volunteer Research in London, which is affiliated with the London School of Economics (LSE). The major focus of this institution is to relate civic engagement to fields of global civil society (cf. Kaldor 2000 & 2003, Clark 2003) and non-governmental organizations (cf. Smillie 1995). Furthermore, steps have been taken to localize the research field within the greater scientific discourse fields of development studies and globalization (cf. Lewis 2006). Based on this knowledge, one specific issue of IVS will be central to the focus of this paper: the Research Director of the CSD in St. Louis, Amanda McBride, pointed out that state-sponsored international service programs, administrated by NGOs, are one central institutional framework of IVS programs. However, research on state interests behind these programs and its consequences for IVS still barely exists (cf. Mc Bride 2004:17-18). This is the research gap within this thesis will be placed. Thereby, the focus will be Western state-funded International Voluntary Service in developing countries.

The motivation for the thesis is connected to my own experience and the many questions, ideas and thoughts that were evoked in this context. Volunteering for one year in a social project in Peru was definitely a life-changing experience. In Germany, where I come from, people are confronted every day with impressions and discussions about so-called developing countries. However, most of these images, transferred primarily through various media, are connected to violent conflicts, crime and poverty on the one hand or with different exotic adventures, in the sense of a “wild life experience” on the other hand. The year abroad taught me a lot to be able to question these stereotypical pictures. The time there has shown me how many similarities exist between people around the world, in terms of their ideas, hopes and dreams. At the same time, I experienced a very different culture in many ways: other forms of interaction, communication, organization, music, food, and so forth. The essential in the experience of this culture was to reflect it in relation to the way of life in Germany. Through my experiences, I realized how many opportunities and modes exist to deal with your life. This does not mean that one way of life seems to be better than another. Rather, both societies have developed something in the sense what the sociologist Niklas Luhman describes as different “social systems.” This variety of “social systems” in the involved countries combines a great amount of creative, important ideas and modes of interaction while at the

same time dealing with huge problems and barriers. The decisive point here is that it is possible to learn a lot from alternate concepts that originate in different societies. However, to reach this aim, it is inevitable to perceive both cultures on an equal footing. In retrospect, I can say unequivocally that the year abroad opened my perspective for global interconnectedness. At the same time, a lot of challenging questions originated in this process: in what ways was my engagement really a contribution for the host organization? How do slogans like “fighting poverty” or “make globalization fair” really fit into the concept of International Voluntary Service when considering the microcosm in which the engagement takes place? Why does the German state actually spend such huge amounts of money for the program? What is the interest of the state and what is my own role in this context? To what extent is this experience meant to be a special privilege predicated on the fact of being a German citizen? In what way is it a one-sided opportunity when taking into consideration the huge challenges for people of developing countries who want to travel or migrate to Europe? These have been the initial questions that feed into the following conceptual structure of my thesis:

In chapter 1 “theoretical concepts and definitions”, in the first part the concept of global learning, and civic engagement (cf. Lin 1999, Grätz 2001, UNICEF 2008, Possart & Stuth 2009) will be presented. This approach can be read as a normative concept, which can be understood as a promising framework for this form of IVS. In contrast, the theory about “a concealed concept of elitism, state interest and imperialism” reflects central theoretical assumptions and criticisms toward this form of IVS. In this regard, publications based on a critical perspective from the Center of Social Development (CSD) in St. Louis are taken into consideration (cf. Brav et al. 2002, Sherraden et al. 2007), as well as references to “the Pedagogy of the oppressed” from the Brazilian author Paulo Freire (cf. Freire 1998). The aim of this thesis is, based on a dialectical understanding of these two theories, to investigate to what extent IVS reflects the first theoretical concept or rather has to be interpreted within the second theoretical approach.

In chapter 2, entitled “The Historical Pathway of International Voluntary Service,” the structure will adopt a three-part periodization. Central references are publications from the CSD (cf. Sherraden et al. 2006 & 2007, Mc Bride et al. 2004 & 2005, Brav et al. 2002, Lough 2008 & 2009) and from the London School of Economics (Kaldor 2000 & 2003, Lewis 2006, Clark 2003). Furthermore, the article “Volunteering in Development” from Lisa Ehrichs (cf. Ehrichs 2002), a professor at the School of Learning in Queensland Australia, and the

publications of Helmut Anheier, professor at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin (cf. Anheier 1999, 2001), have been central sources. The section “The Genesis of International Voluntary Service: Colonialism and World War Reconstruction” will trace back to the 18th and 19th century forms and practices of IVS. European colonization and the role of religion and proselytization will be central patterns for this period. Further, the World War reconstruction and new forms of IVS in the first half of the 20th century will be examined. In the second step of the periodization, “International Voluntary Service after the Second World War: United Nations, Cold War and the Paradigm of Development,” the new alignment of IVS in the period of the Cold War from 1945-1990 will be discussed. This complex period featuring the ideology of anti-communism, the overall paradigm of development, and the civil rights movements will be investigated regarding their impact on IVS. The last unit, “International Voluntary Service in the Post Cold War Era: The Rise of Global Civil Society and its Controversy,” deals with the period from 1990 up to the present day. The enormous growth of international NGOs, the claims of a new and powerful global civil society, and the new world order are recent parameters of IVS. How to interpret these parameters and determine to what extent they are building a promising framework for recent and future IVS actions is a matter of controversy, which will be presented in this last part of the chapter.

Based on the theoretical and historical implementation of these opening chapters, the case-study of the German International Development Voluntary Service “Weltwärts” will be explored in Chapter 3. First, the genesis and institutional framework of this International Voluntary Service will be explained based on official documents of the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation (BMZ)² (cf. BMZ 2007, 2009); declarations of the program’s department of secretary, which are published on the official internet platform, are further sources of reference (cf. Weltwärts-Sekretariat 2011). The second part of this chapter comprises a qualitative survey with NGO representatives of participating sending agencies. Based on methods of qualitative empirical research (cf. Häder 2006), e-mail surveys have been conducted. The potential and strengths of the program, as well as weaknesses and pitfalls, have been questioned. Additionally, central issues of state interest, civic engagement and social inequality have been included within the qualitative questionnaire. For the evaluation of the survey, the method of qualitative content analysis was adopted (cf. Lamnek 2005, Flick 2007, Atteslander 2008).

² In German: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. This is why the abbreviation becomes “BMZ.”

The outcomes of the third chapter are used as one part of the research material for Chapter 4, which launches a deeper analysis of the program. A comprehensible analysis of the empirical data through references to the theoretical basis is conducted. Besides the empirical data from chapter 3, programs and investigations of single sending agencies (cf. Buttermann 2008, Wiemers-Meyer 2006) are taken into consideration, as well as conferences and reports from umbrella associations of sending agencies, like eFeF and VENRO (cf. Adriaan 2009, Legat 2009, Rosen 2009, Freise 2011). Furthermore a Conference Report of Quifd, an agency specialized in the quality and impact of voluntary service that focuses specifically on the Weltwärts program is included (cf. Langer 2009, Possart & Stuth 2011). This is supplemented by a qualitative study on volunteers in the program in South Africa, conducted by a research team under Dr. Brigitte Schwinge, Head of Research at the institution “Development for Partnership” (cf. Schwinge 2011). Based on these research materials, the central theoretical categories are reflected in the context of the Weltwärts program. First, the critical line of theory is explored. Chapter 4.1 then questions imperialistic tendencies of the program. In chapter 4.2 the state interests behind the funding program are investigated. This analysis is divided into two sections: first, the state interest regarding German citizens in relation to the people in the host countries is explored; then, the second section evaluates state interests according to relations with non-state actors. In this light, a theory of the Norwegian scientists Sending and Neumann is presented. This theory claims that there is a changing logic or rationale of governments regarding state and nonstate relationships, which is explored by referring to the concept of governmentality from Michel Foucault (Sending & Neumann 2006, Foucault 1978, Burchell 1996). Based on these explanations, the ways that this theory applies to the Weltwärts program will be clarified. The question to what extent Weltwärts has to be described as an elitist IVS is investigated in chapter 4.3. Again, the argumentation is divided into two levels. This question is discussed in the national sphere on the one hand, and in the global context on the other. Chapters 4.4 and 4.5 refer to the theory of global learning and civic engagement. Chapter 4.4 explores whether Weltwärts can be described as a successful form of civic engagement. Finally, chapter 4.5 investigates the potential for global learning through this program. To conclude, I will discuss the outcomes of the study referencing back to the questions raised in the introduction.

2 Theoretical Concepts and Definitions

The following theoretical approach should be understood as a normative theory on the International Youth Voluntary Service. In the first step, the “theory of global learning and civic engagement” will be presented. Global Learning is in the first instance a pedagogical concept that tries to convey consciousness about global interconnectedness and the importance to rethink one’s own lifestyle in this context. What this could mean with regard to the specific institutional framework of IVS will be elaborated. However, these annotations in the first instance only deal with concerns of perspective and attitude. The remaining question is what a theoretical orientation for the engagement itself could be. Western IVS often makes enormous claims toward developing countries, like reducing worldwide poverty or fighting for global justice and human rights; with all due respect for these venerable aims, these slogans have to be judged critically because they construct a picture of the Western savior. If one aims to establish IVS on equal footing, the origin of the volunteer should not impact the theory of civic engagement in the host country. Consequently, I will use a general theory of civic service as the normative orientation. In the second step, the “theory about a concealed concept of elitism, state interest and imperialism” is described. This theory reflects the three central lines of criticism about Western IVS in developing countries. Both theories should be read in a dialectical form. Nevertheless, this theoretical approach should not imply that the perfect framework for Western IVS in developing countries has been found; this would be illusionary, considering the complexity and amount of data in this field of research. It is rather, from my point of view, a promising concept that can be taken as the orientation and inspiration for recent and future engagements in the field of IVS.

2.1 Theory of Global Learning and Civic Engagement

The concept of global learning refers back to the end of the 1980’s. For Susanne Lin, professor at the University of Marburg, the goal of Global Learning is “to expand one’s own horizons concerning global interconnectedness, the reflection of one’s own identity in connection with the capacity to see the world from the perspective of someone else. In addition, we should expand our horizons by rethinking our own lifestyle and its global, social and ecological effects as well as the possibility to overcome global challenges based on

regional action” (Lin 1999: 130). Furthermore global learning “favors experience and process-oriented learning methods, as well as holistic, creative, active, cooperative, participatory and action-oriented methods. These methods should also be goal-oriented by being ideologically critical” (ibid:130). The Swiss forum “School for one world” emphasizes that getting people “to see the capabilities, circumstances and problems in a broad and holistic interconnectedness is not important for individual topics alone. Instead, this ability is much more a perspective for thinking, judging, feeling and acting – a description of important social capabilities for the future” (ibid:131).

The EU-project “Youth for Global Responsibility – Young volunteers for Global Development” was initiated by the Senate Chancellery in Hamburg in cooperation with local government and NGO partners in Copenhagen, Dar es Salaam, Hamburg, Prague, and Tallinn. In the framework of the European Year of Volunteering 2011, the aims of the project are to initiate exchanges of knowledge and best practice in International Youth Voluntary Service (IYVS). The web platform of this EU-project offers a wide selection from different European and Southern perspectives. In general it seeks to provide comprehensive information and initiate debates about the tasks and aims of the “International Youth Voluntary Service.” For this institution, global learning “aims to enable people to understand the links between their own lives and those of people around the world in order to increase their understanding of the economic, social, political and environmental forces which shape our lives in the local and global context. It is a complex learning process and includes developing skills, attitudes and values which allow people to grow and to develop personally as they understand more about the world and their own role in it, and one that encourages and empowers the volunteers to take on responsibility and work towards creating a more just and sustainable world. Consequently, Global Learning in voluntary services calls for young volunteers to understand that their service is not about helping others who do not need help; it is rather aimed at common and mutual learning, and acknowledging that the partners in the South have their own competences and skills” (Grätz 2011: 1). Nevertheless the question remains about the concrete steps that have to be taken to establish the International Voluntary Service as a global learning experience. In this context, the following concept is presented:

“Global Learning does not merely occur in voluntary services, it has to be consciously planned and explicitly set as an aim for all involved stakeholders (sending organisations, hosting project partners and volunteers). In developmental voluntary services Global Learning should

be regarded as a process that extends to all stages from preparation, accompaniment and follow-up and is created as a mixture of information, experience, and reflection. During the preparation this includes, amongst other things, the transfer of basic information about the hosting country and facts on the specific project placement and its background, including links to local and global structures as well as the aims of the service. Raising awareness about cultural differences and enabling a change in perspectives are as important as a critical reflection on the volunteers' motivation to conduct a voluntary service and a clear definition of his or her role within the project. Despite best preparation, assignments in development countries still pose enormous challenges to young volunteers: The majority of them will be confronted with situations of extreme poverty, cultural differences and unfamiliar living conditions for the first time in their lives. In order to make these often challenging experiences fruitful from the perspective of Global Learning, well-planned and didactically prepared measures for reflection are particularly important during the service. So as to consolidate both knowledge and skills acquired during the preparation phase and experiences during the voluntary service, we should also pay attention to sufficient follow-up measures. This becomes even more important, the more voluntary service programs are targeted on the commitment of returned volunteers to act as multipliers in different fields of intervention. In this regard a thematic focus of follow-up measures could lie on retrospective reflection on the relationship between the local and the global and a discussion about possibilities for taking action in the personal and global environment" (ibid: 1).

The concept of global learning reflects, in my point of view, a variety of important claims towards the planning, perspective and attitude in the field of IVS. Furthermore, the question is what are the demands or claims for civic engagement. As previously explained, a general definition of civic engagement will be used. Hereby I refer to a study about "Young People's Civic Engagement" published by UNICEF. First of all, UNICEF points out that there are "multiple definitions of the terms based on different cultural contexts" (UNICEF 2008:10). In the context of their study, they define civic engagement

"as individual or collective actions to improve the wellbeing of communities or nations. Three interrelated concepts complement this definition. First, knowledge and skills are required to participate effectively in civic engagement activities. Second there are a broad range of activities that constitute civic engagement and that can be conceptualized as part of a continuum or spectrum. Third, benefits of civic engagement are both individual and collective" (ibid:10).

The collective issue in the last point refers to active participation in public life and community service. Individual benefits are those gained by the person participating in the activity and include increased life and livelihood skills (cf. *ibid*:11). Gloria Possart and Ana Maria Stuth from the agency Quifd - a specialized agency in the field of the quality and impact of voluntary services, speak in this regard of a win-win situation - for the volunteer as well as for the institution in the host country (cf. Possart & Stuth 2009: 11).

2.2 Theory of a Concealed Concept of Elitism, Imperialism and State Interest

In some ways, the term voluntary service suggests a form of idealistic altruism. An act of free-will without material compensation constructs a highly positive image of the actor. Critics of International Voluntary Service hold the view that this positive image is used or abused for conceal other motives, which are actually highly influenced by elitism, imperialism and state interests (cf. Brav et al. 2002:4).

Elitism is defined by Brav as “the power certain members of a society have to make decisions for and dominate others. Elitism can lead to controlled and unequal access to resources and opportunities like education, health care and jobs” (*ibid*:4). This clarifies the direct connection to inequality, oppression and discrimination. Questions which have to be answered include: inclusiveness- who actually has the possibility to become a server; outcome- who actually profits; and participation- to what extent does the served have an influence on the service? (cf. *ibid* 4), the famous Brazil pedagogue Paulo Freire clarifies the connection between elitism and generosity. In his words, generosity “can fail to question systems of oppression or the reasons why some are able to give “generously” and others are the “unfortunates” in need for help. Generosity bears the threat that it reproduces injustice, because “in order to have the continued opportunity to express their ‘generosity,’ the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. An unjust social order is the permanent found of this ‘generosity’ which is nourished by death, despair, and poverty. That is why the dispensers of false generosity become desperate at the slightest threat to its source” (Freire 1998: 2).

The question of state interest is another issue raised by critics of IVS. Hence, the focus is state-funded international programs. The criticism is that these programs may promote their own social, economic, and political gains rather than the interests of the respective host country (cf. Brav et al. 2002:7). There is a huge variety of research about possible positive

outcomes of IVS programs. Noticeably, the majority of this research places emphasis on the benefits of server, which is overwhelmingly evaluated as highly beneficial, while the research on possible benefits for the host country is much more restricted (cf. Sherraden et al. 2007:5). This raises concern over the extent to which state-funded IVS programs are in the first instance interested in benefits for own citizens, while the impact on the host country plays a minor role.

The allegation that IVS incorporates elements of cultural imperialism is another point of criticism. According to a professor in the field of social movements, John D. H. Downing, “imperialism is the conquest and control of one country by a more powerful one. Cultural imperialism signifies the dimensions of the process that go beyond economic exploitation or military force” (Brav et al. 2002: 7). According to IVS, that means that programs “continue to run the risk of perpetuating the cultural, political, and economic hegemony of ‘First World’ over ‘Third world’ countries, spreading notions of development and underdevelopment” (ibid: 8). The paradigm of development in the form of economic growth influences cultural hegemony in two ways: it is an outcome of economic growth and, simultaneously a way of promote it. A huge variety of researchers (cf. Ehrichs 2002:4) strongly criticize the power of this paradigm (ibid: 8); Ferguson points out that this leitmotiv often “does not reflect the country’s reality, historical context, resources, or capabilities; rather, it provides justification for Western intervention” (ibid: 8).

3 Historical Pathway of International Voluntary Service

This historical outline of IVS focuses especially on the role of the Western International Voluntary Service in developing countries. This means that the discourse concerning the different institutional alignments of IVS throughout history always underlies the relationship between these actors; to explore this, the thesis will investigate patterns of dominance and power. The historical pathway of IVS is separated into three periods. Firstly, the “Genesis of International Voluntary Service: Colonialism and World War Reconstruction”; secondly the “International Voluntary Service after the Second World War: United Nations, Cold War and the paradigm of Development”; and finally the “International Voluntary Service in the Post Cold War Era: The Rise of Global Civil Society and its Controversy.” In this context, a three-part periodization was chosen defined by the parameters of 1945 (the end of Second World War) and 1990 (the end of Cold War) as critical junctures of global historiography.

The historical narrative focuses on the placement of Western volunteers in what are known today as developing countries. To some extent, the fact that IVS, with a few current exceptions, was nearly exclusively a one-way activity by Western volunteers in Southern countries already tells a lot about the relationship. Nevertheless, fundamental changes in mutual perceptions, patterns of motivation, and the institutional organization itself have taken place during the last centuries. The scientific discourse about International Voluntary Service is still, to a huge extent, designed by Western researchers, which leads to a predominately Western-centric perspective on the history of IVS. Unfortunately, I could not access literature from researchers in the South regarding this specific topic. This could be connected to the fact that this is still trapped in a mainly unidirectional structure; this means that primarily the countries which organize these services are those that are funding the supporting research. At this stage, I cannot answer whether it was a lack of research on my part or in fact non-existence of publications on the part of Southern researchers. Without a doubt, further research and exploration of this perspective from the opposite side should be an aim in future research.

3.1 Genesis of International Voluntary Service: Colonialism and World War

Reconstruction

Although the large-scale scientific attention paid to IVS is quite a new phenomenon, the history of IVS itself follows a long tradition. Roots can be found as far back as the period of colonial expansion in the form of missions. Through missions billed as aid and development, Christianity expanded worldwide (cf. Sherraden 2007:1). Some authors describe international volunteers during the 18th and 19th century as complex actors with a range of roles: “They were strategic and sometimes conflicting partners with imperialists, and were seen as proselytizers or lifesavers to the local communities” (Mc Bride & Daftery 2005:4). Although modern historians appreciate volunteers’ contributions to human development during this time, these researchers also cite their role in expanding colonial development. These volunteers frequently had resident status in European colonies and, due to the theocracy imprinting during this period, they acted in many ways as agents of the state by helping consolidate imperial power and influence (cf. Lough 2008: 18). In that sense, IVS, in this period, constituted in many respects a one-sided relationship between passive beneficiaries and “enlightened” reformers (cf. Mc Bride & Daftery 2005:4). Until the beginning of the 20th century, religious organizations remained the central institutional framework of IVS, although several case studies point out that “they became more firmly rooted in civil society, and were less intent on conversion as a primary outcome” (Lough 2008: 18).

A stronger effort by the state within IVS began in the aftermath of World War I, when work camps and volunteer armies were devoted to the reconstruction process (cf. Ehrichs 2002:2). In some way, the formation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1864 can be seen as the first expression of a different institutional actor in this field. Even though the organization had strong ties to religious organizations in the beginning, it is recognized by different authors as the first true “development-oriented” volunteer organization that was separated from missionary and colonial agendas of the state (cf. Lough 2008: 18-19/ Anheier & Salamon 1999: 45). In the 1930s, the Service Civil International – also known as the International Voluntary Service in North America and Great Britain – influenced by Mahatma Gandhi’s concept of peaceful revolution, was established by the Swiss engineer Pierre Ceresole. The engagement of this institution, which still exists today, is also often highlighted as the first non-church Western voluntary service in the South (cf. Ehrichs 2002: 2).

3.2 International Voluntary Service after the Second World War: United

Nations, Cold War and the Paradigm of Development

A huge scale realignment of IVS took place in the decade after the end of the Second World War. Increasing decolonization, a rising Cold War, and the formation of the United Nations left their footprints in different manners on the scope and direction of the International Voluntary Service. The formation of the United Nations in 1945 and its rhetoric, which highlighted the interdependence of nation-states, and the value of equality among nations alongside forms of global responsibility to alleviate poverty, seemed to mark a new form of mutual perception (cf. McBride & Daftery 2005: 5). The term “development” became the central paradigm. An enormous growth of Western and local NGOs occurred worldwide, including the Bretton Woods institutions of 1944. Meanwhile, the Marshall Plan at the end of the 1940s became a prominent reference model for potential development projects and the World Bank and IMF established global regulations for economic and political systems based on market-principles of growth. This system of international cooperation highly influenced the new institutional framework of IVS (cf. Lough 2008:19-20). While the post-war period marked a shift away from old colonial and missionary agendas, many scholars do not perceive a shift regarding the form of dominance between the Western states and former colonies. They claim that beside the rhetorical shift, “old relationships continued in the form of neo-imperialism with the world divided into developed, developing and underdeveloped countries, perpetuating relationships of power and dominance” (McBride & Daftery 2005: 5). Another important parameter for the role of IVS was the increasing East-West Conflict. The Truman doctrine of 1947 can be described as an important “term of reference” that tied international aid with geo-political and economic concerns (ibid 2005:5). In this sense, the expanding Western volunteer programs were highly embedded in a struggle for developmental and ideological aims. In doing so, people in developing countries were rather seen together as a passive undifferentiated mass that should adopt Western ideals (cf. Ehrichs 2002: 3).

During the 1960s and 1970s, large-scale Western programs for IVS were increasingly established: Britain’s Voluntary Service Overseas in 1958, the US Peace Corps and the Canadian University Service Overseas in 1961, and Australian Volunteers International in 1963 are some prominent examples. Furthermore, Germany and other Western- and Northern-European countries set up private or non-governmental organizations to send volunteers abroad (cf. Lough 2008:20/ Smillie 1995:41). The objectives of these institutions varied between the promotion of mutual understanding between nations and economic and technical

assistance for developing countries to programs created to counteract communist ideas (cf. Lough 2008: 20). Roberts, a British researcher, explores the ways in which state policy used International Voluntary Service against communist ideas in his case-study on the American Peace Corps in Ghana during the legacy of John F. Kennedy from 1961-1963. Roberts points out the following calculation behind state-funding:

“By establishing the agency under the mutual Security Act, Kennedy made it part of American Cold war policies. It was hoped that the Peace Corps would help developing nations modernize, thereby preventing communists advances towards them. Also, the presence of volunteers would show people in the developing world of America’s altruism, and in return the people would reject communism” (Roberts 2004: 24).

Beside these national and ideological efforts in 1970, the UN agency “United Nations Volunteers” was founded as an “operational-partner” to the United Nations Development Program. In contrast to the other agencies, this program especially the possibility for people from developing countries to participate as volunteers (cf. Ehrichs 2003:3). To what extent a shift in the relations between the Western countries and the developing world in this period had taken place is a matter of controversy. A report from the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service in 1969 pointed out that still “many programs inadvertently propagated stereotypical notions of what constitutes “developed” and “underdeveloped”, which may have dictated the activities volunteers implemented as well as affected their attitudes toward the people with whom they serve” (Mc Bride & Daftery 2005: 5). On the other hand, the agenda of civil rights, citizen participation and anti-war movements in this period not only enhanced the interest of the people towards development policy, but also had an influence on mutual perceptions. Old top-down, bureaucratic development programs were questioned and the role of non-governmental organizations grew due to increasing claims to treat local people not as passive recipients but as being actively involved in their own development (cf. Mc Bride & Daftery 2005: 6).

3.3 International Voluntary Service in the Post Cold War Era: The Rise of Global Civil Society and its Controversy

The end of the Cold War in 1990 and the annulment of the bipolar world order can be seen as another juncture in the history of IVS. Old ideological objectives connected to the fight

against communism widely lost their eligibility (cf. Lough 2008:20). Simultaneously, several authors connected IVS with the emergence of a global civil society (cf. Anheier 2001:2/ Kaldor 2003:589) or global cosmopolitan society (cf. Lewis 2006:2). The rewards of international volunteering played an increasingly important role in international cooperation, in particular when nation-states failed to promote global peace, international understanding, and the well-being of the world's poor (cf. Sherraden et al 2006: 3). The International Volunteer day, which was celebrated on the 5th of December, 2001 by more than 100 countries, can be understood as an expression of this new perspective (cf. Anheier & Salamon 1999:44). The United Nations General Assembly dedicated 2001 as the "International Year of Volunteers." In this context, the UN and other institutions pointed out the development-orientation of volunteerism and established connections between the role of volunteers and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (cf. Lough 2008:22). Understanding IVS as a part of global civil society, the question is how to define this term. There is an ongoing debate to determine which groups and institutions should be included and which respectively excluded. Further, the separation between a descriptive usage and a normative usage can be observed. Mary Kaldor, professor at LSE and one of the most quoted researchers in this field, gives the following definition for Global Civil Society:

"In a normative sense, it tends to refer to the aspiration for the territorial extension of civil society. The classic definition of civil society, although there have always been a range of interpretations, generally refers to a rule of law guaranteed by the state – a Societas Civilis to use the seventeenth century term – and the existence of independent groups of citizens able to uphold and disseminate the values and norms which underpin the rule of law and check abuses of power by the state. The German sociologist Norbert Elias used the term the "civilizing process" to describe the way in which violence was removed from everyday life within the territorial confines of the state. In a descriptive sense, the term "global civil society" tends to refer to those independent NGOs and social movements that operate across national boundaries, although there are considerable disputes about what is and what is not included in the term. Global Civil Society may be used to refer to the non-profit sector: everything that operates across national borders and between the state, the market and the family" (Kaldor 2000:106).

The normative definition for "Global Civil Society" is seen by many researchers as the promising institution of the future. Anthony Giddens links global civil society to the revival of ideas and practices around civic culture (cf. Lewis 2006:2). A growing attention to

environment, human rights, and social welfare, more inclusive participation, and the expansion of international understanding are exemplary goals (cf. Clark 2003: 6). Further, providing new space for politics from below by raising concerns and giving a voice to groups previously excluded, connects the institution with the hope of “global democratization from below” (cf. Sherraden et al. 2006:3-4). In contrast, other authors perceive “global civil society” much more critically. Baker argues that “global civil society organizations represent the interest of some groups over others. This ought to be of particular concern given that, on the basis of the uneven spread of power and resources, most global civil society organizations are actually thoroughly Western many based in, and even resourced by Western states” (Baker 2002:937). Additionally it is often pointed out that many of these institutions are neither democratic nor accountable (cf. Sherraden et al. 2006:3-4). Further, a generally more critical view on globalization and global changes is pronounced by these authors. They contrarily perceive a weakening of international relationships, based on national self-interest and individualism. New approaches towards global governance between rich and poor populations are demanded on a global scale. Traditional, formal development institutions, national frameworks and narrower understandings of market-based development models are questioned by these authors (cf. Lewis 2006: 2).

This debate on global civil society reflects in many ways the controversy surrounding Western IVS in developing countries. Are we at a stage of history, where increasing civic engagement and interaction between populations could enable a more just, tolerant and respectful future? Or is IVS actually a positively connoted conceptualization for reaching mostly self-seeking aims? For the evaluation, this thesis will take a look at recent empirical research results in the field. Unquestionably, since the end of the 20th century, a dramatic increase in the scale of IVS can be observed (cf. Sherraden et al 2006:2/ Lewis 2006:5/ Mc Bride & Daftery 2005: 10/ Sherraden 2007:2). The increase in the number of international service programs can be related to the increase in the number of international NGOs worldwide. In the yearbook of International Organizations, an increase of globally acting NGOs is documented as shifting from 5,121 in 1995 to 7,628 in 2007, representing growth of nearly 50% (cf. UIA 2009:2). In 2002, the Center for Social Development conducted a global assessment of civic service, building on previous work in this field (cf. Mc Bride et al 2004:11). The large-scale quantitative research project, which identified 210 IVS programs around the globe, pointed out that 92% of international service programs were administered by NGOs (cf. *ibid*:13). This clarifies mutual dependencies of NGOs and IVS. In comparison

to the past, the importance of religion seemed to decrease in this field. More than half of IVS sponsoring organizations can be identified as non-religious-based institutions (cf. Lough 2008:22).

The working fields of the service programs differ to a huge extent. Education, community development and environmental protection as well as housing and transportation assistance are the most common fields of engagement. As forms of youth service, senior and faith-based service programs have been identified, whereby youth-service programs are the most common alignments (cf. Mc Bride & Daftery 2005: 3). Regarding the spatial implementation of IVS, 33% percent of the programs were administrated from North America, followed by 27% in Europe, 12% in Sub-Saharan Africa, 9% in Latin America, 10% in East Asia/the Pacific, 5% in the Middle-East/North Africa, and 4% in South Asia (cf. Mc Bride et al 2004:12). In general, it can be pointed out that wealthier countries are most likely to fund and operate IVS programs, and hence IVS is primarily limited to volunteers from these countries. North-to-North and North-to-South³ flows of volunteers dominate on a large-scale, while South-to-South is increasing partly in the last decade. In contrast, South-to-North IVS programs hardly exist on a global scale (cf. Sherraden 2006:14). This asymmetric distribution raises the question of who actually benefits from IVS. A considerable amount of scientific studies suggest an enormous positive impact of IVS on the volunteer. In 2009, the CSD research paper "Perceived Effects of International Volunteering: Reports from Alumni" written by Lough, Sherraden and Mc Bride have pointed very many positive impacts for the volunteers: for instance, an increase in intercultural understanding was perceived by more than 95% of the alumni. Exemplary argumentations have been "an appreciation of other cultures", "new ideas of seeing the world" and "challenging of previous beliefs and assumptions". Furthermore, an impact on future civic engagement was reported by 90% of the volunteers. Both at the local and international levels, this increased commitment was observed (cf. Lough et al.: 2009:5). Beside these more idealistically oriented reports, volunteers claimed a strengthening of their career goals in the form of improved study and employment possibilities. In general, more than 95% of the surveyed were satisfied with their volunteer experience (cf. *ibid.*: 2009:5). These findings are backed up by a huge variety of other studies, which additionally highlight language skills, emerging global consciousness and problem-

³ The North-South Divide is a socio-economic division that exists between the wealthy developed countries, known collectively as "the North," and the poorer developing countries (least developed countries), or "the South." While most of the developed countries are in fact placed in the Northern hemisphere, countries like Australia and New Zealand are included in the term "North".

solving skills (cf. Sherraden et al. 2007:5). Beside these personal benefits, the civic engagement after the return is highlighted as the promotion of cultural understanding by dispelling myth of foreigners, sparking dialogue about disadvantaged populations, and a raising of agendas such as AIDS, fair trade, and world poverty (ibid: 5). In the context of these mutual benefits, one question asks who actually these volunteers are. The issue of inclusiveness is not limited to the origin of the country, but also has to be posed in the context of intrastate selection. Exemplary case-studies of Peace Corps volunteers have shown a very small percentage of African-Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. Further, a study including the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers, the Peace Corps, United Nations Volunteers, and Canadian Crossroads International has documented male participation above average (Mc Bride & Daftery 2005:15). To evaluate to what extent these findings reflect a representative image of IVS, further research has to be done. Beside these perspectives towards the server, the central question about the impact on the host country remains open. In this field accessible research results are less existent. There are several case-studies which point out a promotion of public education and health, enhancing community relations and encouraging economic development (Sherraden et al. 2007:5); nevertheless, further research is necessary for evidence with higher validity.

A more cautious and critical view is hold by the British scientist Kate Simpson, quoted by David Lewis (2006). She argues that a positive result of IVS is highly dependent on a clear pedagogy for social justice. It is pointed out by the exemplary case of the gap year that otherwise the threat exists for “an image of ‘third word other’ that is dominated by simplistic binaries of ‘us and them,’ and is expressed through essential clichés, where the public face of development is one dominated by the value of Western good intentions” (Lewis 2006:7-8). In her point of view, this could due to a form of volunteer-tourism which may “privilege the needs and desires of the server over the served, and act as powerful and influential framing mechanism for the social construction of ideas about development, poverty and the third world” (ibid:8). A similar criticism, but with a stronger historic emphasis, is claimed from Kothari, who studied the biographies of the last generation of colonial administrators that turned to post-colonial development workers. In her perspective the historical bequest of IVS as a form of colonial paternalism is not reflected in an adequate way. The usage of the term development is highly criticized in this context:

“Today’s development industry plays down the historical continuum between the people and the practices of colonial administration and today’s world of development professionals, and much development as studies literature is keen to assert that development as an idea only began in 1945” (Lewis 2006:8).

This pathway throughout the last two centuries clarifies the ambiguous perspectives and interpretations of IVS. The term voluntary service in some way suggests a form of honorary agency, which exclusively aims towards an altruistic contribution; unquestionably, this is also a part of IVS. Nevertheless the historical pathway of IVS illustrates the entanglement IVS has not only with political and religious agendas, but also with fundamental questions about power and development. The strongest linkages can be observed between the debate about IVS and the term “development”. What is development? Who defines development? For whom is development? The contradictory relation and understanding of development is reflected in the following quote of Edelman and Haugerud:

“For some it is an ideal, an imagined future towards which institutions and individuals strive, for other it is a destructive myth, an insidious failed chapter in the history of Western modernity” (Edelman & Haugerud 2005:1).

As a consequence, the question about the perspective of IVS towards development has to be asked. To which extent do IVS programs have a critical conception of development? Further the issue of power plays an important role. Historically, IVS was nearly exclusively a unidirectional program, from the “developed” towards the “developing” world. This tends to result in binaries in two different forms. At the macro-level, dichotomies between colonial power and colony, civilized and uncivilized, developed country and underdeveloped country emerge. This kind of dualistic confrontation is due to an expectation on the micro-level that individuals of the one sphere should help the other individuals to reach at desirable condition that they have already reached. This could be conceptualized - depending on the historical epoch – as being enlightened, civilized or developed. This does not mean that this kind of paternalism is unavoidably reproduced by IVS. Rather, this kind of binary, which definitely traces back a long history, should be seen as a critical narrative, which has to be taken in consideration when evaluating IVS programs of the present and the future. Important steps have been taken. Claims not to classify people as passive objects but as subjects, or the awareness that volunteers in the first instance are learners rather than teachers, have been

pronounced in the last decades: the question is whether these new findings are actually really implemented in the institutional alignment of recent IVS programs.

To get deeper insights in this field, the case -study of the German development volunteer service Weltwärts will be presented, through which more than 10.000 volunteers have been sent to developing countries in the last three years.

4 The Case Study Weltwärts

Weltwärts can be seen as an exemplary case for demonstrating why there has been an increase in OECD countries organizing forms of state-funded international voluntary programs. While some of the programs like the US Peace Corps or the “Australian Volunteers International” are already have a tradition of over forty years, several countries greatly expanded their state-funded international volunteering programs and even introduced new concepts into the field (cf. Lough 2008:20). The global assessment of CSD revealed complex collaborative roles and arrangements between NGOs for development and implementation of some programs. One framework for IVS programs on the rise creates so-called public-private partnerships, where the government is a primary funder of the service programs implemented by NGOs (cf. Sherraden et al. 2002:3). Furthermore youth-service programs are the most common alignments of IVS programs worldwide (cf. Mc Bride & Daftery 2005: 3). An expert working group of United Nations Volunteers pointed out that “international service is increasingly proposed as a policy strategy for youth development and promotion of intercultural competence, (...) with goals of increasing tolerance and understanding” (ibid: 11).

Based on that, the Weltwärts program can be localized as a common institutional form of IVS. The aim is to use Weltwärts as a case study to analyze, in which way the theories “of global learning and civic engagement” on the one hand and the theory of “a concealed concept of elitism, state-interest and imperialism” on the other hand, are reflected through the program. To do so, my research materials the analysis consists of two sets of data. Firstly, the institutional concept of Weltwärts is explained, which will be primarily based on sources from the official “Weltwärts-guidelines” (cf. BMZ 2007) and the Weltwärts return-concept (BMZ 2009), as well as on statements published on the official internet platform by the department of secretary for the program (cf. Weltwärts-Sekreteriat 2011). Secondly in the context of this thesis, a research survey with the coordinators of the participating NGOs was conducted. Based on the method of content analysis, central declarations will be pointed out. This research material will then be analyzed and interpreted with regard to the theoretical concepts in Chapter 4. I will firstly question, to what extent and in which ways imperialism, state interest and elitism can be related to the program. In the second step, the relation to global learning and civic engagement is reflected.

4.1 The Institutional Framework

The German development volunteer service Weltwärts, was introduced in 2008 by the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation (BMZ). The program is implemented by existing non-profit aid and sending organizations, whose headquarters and centre of operations are in Germany (cf. BMZ 2007:5). Possible target countries are all states which are classified as “developing countries” by the OECD (cf. BMZ 2007: 1). The majority of the deployments are placed in Latin-America (42%), Africa (37%) and Asia (20%). The main destination countries are South Africa, India, Brazil, Peru and Bolivia (cf. Weltwärts-Sekreteriat 2011b: 1). The duration of the volunteer service varies between 6 and 24 months. The usual period ranges from 12-18 months “in order to ensure the necessary integration of the volunteers into the structures of the partner organization” (BMZ 2007:8).

Currently 290 sending agencies applied for the program, 242 of which were officially accepted (cf. Weltwärts-Sekreteriat 2011b: 1). The organizations have the responsibility to ensure the success of the volunteer service. Additionally, they are the coordination point between the volunteers, the project agencies or places of assignment, and German society. The implementation is based on partnerships with experienced project agencies in the host countries. The tasks of the German organizations are A) to find and select volunteers, B) to advertise and provide support for the volunteers’ posts in the developing country, and C) to provide an adequate educational and training program before, during and after the stay (cf. Weltwärts-Sekreteriat 2011b: 1/ BMZ 2007:9). In the preparation seminar, a clear understanding about the assignment and the living and working conditions should be conveyed. Furthermore, an emphasis is placed on development policy issues and requirements, as well as intercultural communication and cooperation (cf. BMZ 2007:13). During their stay, the volunteers are obligated to send a report every three months about their working and living experiences in the host country. At the midpoint of the stay, a seminar for reflection and strategic planning has to be organized between the volunteers and representatives of the sending agency. After the return and submission of a final report, the volunteers will receive a certificate from their sending agency. Further, an obligatory “return-seminar” is organized to evaluate and reflect on the stay abroad (cf. BMZ 2007: 12); here the agency should encourage the volunteers “to pass on what they have learned and to engage in civil society and the field of development cooperation in Germany” (ibid:12). The activities must be documented in the form of annual business and financial reports by the sending agencies (cf. ibid:9).

The program is open to a wide range of young people in Germany. The following criteria have to be fulfilled:

- “The volunteers must have passed their 18th and not yet reached their 29th birthday at the time of signing the pertinent agreements with the German sending agency.
- They must be German citizens or non-German citizens who are permanently resident and have the right of residence in Germany.
- They must be open-minded, eager to learn and players who are interested in the culture and conditions in developing countries and are prepared to work hard with dedication in the country to which they are sent.
- They must either have completed a vocational training after graduating from school at 15 or 16; or have graduated from secondary school at 18 or 19 having passed the school-leaving examination qualifying them to enter higher education; or have passed a similar school-leaving examination; or have a university degree; or they must offer other proof of their sustainability for volunteer service, e.g. experience from doing alternative service.
- They must have good basic knowledge of a language spoken in the host country.
- They must participate in all the components and events that make up the special training program for volunteers.
- They must be prepared to get actively involved in development policy activities before, during and after their stay.
- They should use their experience gained abroad to make an active contribution to development education work in Germany” (BMZ 2007:5-6)

The volunteers will be engaged in projects which are administrated by local partner organizations of the sending agencies, that “make an important contribution towards development” (ibid:7). The task of the partner organization is to provide an adequate induction, work and support for the volunteer and to allocate a mentor, who has experience in the field of voluntary work and is able to give the volunteer comprehensive support (cf. ibid: 8). The fields of work are multifaceted: the main areas are health, environmental and resource protection, democratization, human rights, and particularly education. Possible key activities are homework assistance in children’s homes, tutorial assistance in township- and special schools, physical education, and theater work. Official project places are for example: Tutorial assistance in Lome (Togo), co-workers in the theater-school of Cajamarca (Peru), or physical education in Dodoma (Tanzania). The majority of the working places are embedded

in local non-profit organizations or associations in the country of destination. One central issue of the program is to create offers and possibilities for disadvantaged children and teenagers to participate and integrate into societal life. Further, the projects in the areas of environmental and health should make a contribution to climate protection and AIDS prevention through awareness- and information-campaigns (cf. Weltwärts-Sekretariat 2011: 1).

In 2008 a budget of 40 million Euros per year was allocated by the government. This budget was cut in 2010 by the new CDU-CSU/FDP coalition to an amount of 29 million Euros (cf. Weltwärts-Sekretariat 2011b: 1). The sending agency receives project-oriented funding of up to 580 Euros per month per volunteer from the BMZ, which should be portioned in the following way:

- “Up to 350 Euros is for pocket money, board and lodging, insurance, travel to the seminars and the travel costs of the volunteers from and back to Germany ;
- Up to 230 Euros is for special educational support and to support the partner projects in the developing country” (BMZ 2007: 14).

The financial funding is limited to 75% of the eligible total expenditure. Further, the sending agency does not receive any money for finding places or processing the applications; however, they can encourage the volunteers to assemble a group of sponsors. Funds of up to 150 Euro per month are the maximum funds sending agencies can demand from their volunteers (cf. *ibid*: 15).

The interest of young people is remarkable. Every year, more than 10,000 applications are addressed to the non-profit organizations. In 2008, 2,257 volunteers participated in the program. In general, over 10,000 firm commitments have been contracted since 2007. About 6,000 volunteers have already finished their service (cf. Weltwärts-Sekretariat 2011b: 1).

A further central issue of the program refers to the engagement of the volunteers after their return. To this end, a conceptual program was composed by the BMZ (cf. BMZ 2009). In this concept, aims, principles, the role of sending of agencies and possible support of the BMZ is described. Central aims are as follows:

- “A better understanding of the growing complexity of our world society
- Increasing awareness for the necessary balancing of interests between different world regions

- Learning and competence building for an active participation within a socially responsible society
- Strengthening peace work
- Increasing the acceptance of state and non-state development cooperation in society, politics, economy, sciences and public administration
- Enhancing the networking and cooperation with partner countries
- Overcoming blinkered perception and prejudices in the public with regard to the partner countries”⁴ (BMZ 2009: 3)

To reach these aims and to enable projects of returned volunteers, the BMZ introduced (cf. BMZ 2009: 3) a funding stream in 2009, which is resourced with one million Euros per year (cf. BMZ 2009:7-8).

Conclusively the general objectives of the program are pointed out by a longer quote from the guidelines of the program, published by the BMZ:

“The idea behind the volunteer service is the successful formula of “learning by serving” and its aims are twofold: to achieve added developmental value for the partner projects in terms of help towards self-help, and to spark new interest in development issues in Germany (...) The new volunteer service will make an effective contribution to development policy information and education work in terms of “global learning” and towards nurturing a new generation of development workers. It will enhance intercultural understanding and help increase awareness and acceptance within society of how development policy issues impact on our future. In addition to acquiring knowledge of foreign languages and of specialist development topics, the volunteers will also learn about intercultural communication, socio-cultural cooperation and social responsibility, all valuable skills in an increasingly globalized learning and working environment. The volunteer service will also help to reinforce civil society structures in the developing countries and in Germany” (BMZ 2007:4).

Furthermore “Make Globalization Fair” is described as one of the overall intentions of the development volunteer service. Additionally, the fight against worldwide poverty, environmental protection, securing peace, and the encouragement of democracy are other objectives which are listed on the official website of the program (cf. Weltwärts-Sekretariat 2011b: 1).

⁴ This quote has been translated from German by the author.

4.2 The Weltwärts Survey

4.2.1 Methodical Approach

The empirical study was based on research surveys that were conducted via e-mail. The target-group was “Weltwärts” coordinators of participating NGOs. The decision for this expert group was based on the awareness that the NGOs are key players in the whole concept. They choose the volunteers, contact the partner institutions in the developing countries, and assist the educational programs. At the same time, the majority of these NGOs already have long-standing experience in international voluntary service. These were the reasons that lead me to contact these institutions and confront them with several questions probing the controversial debate about Weltwärts. Based on access to 92 e-mail contacts, the qualitative survey was completed by eight coordinators, signifying a rate of return of 11.5 percent. Textbooks on empirical social research assume an average return rate of e-mail surveys between 5% and 20% (cf. Häder 2006: 239); in this regard, the corresponding rate can be seen as being of a common magnitude. One central advantage of e-mail surveys is that in comparison to interviews, the tendency of the correspondent to answer in a socially desirable way is lower, because the situation is not controlled by the interviewer. Further, access to a higher amount of qualitative research results is comparatively easier to achieve (cf. *ibid*:239). Based on these advantages, the decision was made to conduct a qualitative e-mail -survey as a research method. The following questions have been explored:

- 1) Where do you see potentials and strengths of the Weltwärts program from your point of view?
- 2) What are possible pitfalls and weaknesses of the Weltwärts program from your point of view?
- 3) What kind of state-interest would you assume regarding the Weltwärts program?
- 4) How do you evaluate the Weltwärts program in reference to the global system of social inequality?
- 5) To which extent would you understand the Weltwärts program as a strengthening of global civil society respectively global civic engagement?
- 6) One central programmatic intention of the Welwärts-Program is “to make Globalization fair”; to which extent do you believe that the program contributes to this aim?

For the evaluation of my research material, the method of qualitative content analysis was used. For the Professor of sociology, Siegfried Lamnek, the origin of content analysis refers to a trivial circumstance: In the speaking and telling of words by people, they express their intentions, attitudes and interpretation, their knowledge and their implicit assumption (cf. Lamnek 2005:478). The Professor Uwe Flick, who published a series of books about qualitative empirical research, identifies content analysis as a classical method for the analysis of text material, ranging from medial sources to questionnaires. A typical characteristic is the usage of categories, which are often deduced from theoretical models (cf. Flick 2007: 409). For Mayritz, content analysis is connected to the pre-scientific and daily language understanding, which enables the people not only to understand the meanings, that should be intentionally articulated by communication, but also enables inferences for -individual and societal phenomena (Lamnek 2005:485). The object of the scientific content analysis can be divided into two levels. On the one hand, it can refer to directly experienced action, like observation or participation within an interaction; on the other hand, it can be reproduced in speaking or written form (ibid: 485). Such declarations can be used to access systematic inferences about indirect social and psycho-cultural realities, of which these declarations are products and within which they take effect. Further the research material of content analysis can also be divided into two parts. Firstly there is the material that was intentionally produced for the research. Atteslander calls these materials “systematic documents” and separates it from documents, that have not been produced for the research, which he calls “accidental documents” (cf. Atteslander 2008: 33). For Maynitz, the objective of content analysis is to identify communicated attributes of text material in an objective and systematic methodological way, by which conclusions can be drawn about characteristics of people and societal aggregates (cf. Lamnek: 478). Regarding the normative alignment of the content analysis, it is pointed out that a classification of symbolic material by scientific observation - based on explicit rules of classification and practice - should judge which part of the text material should be included in the categories of analysis (ibid:479). The techniques of content analysis are based on the following important steps: the first step is to paraphrase the material, whereby less important parts are excluded (first reduction) and similar paraphrases are combined (second reduction). This combination of reduction of the material by exclusion in form of a summary leads toward a higher level of abstraction (cf. Flick 2007:410)

4.2.2 Results

In the first step, I questioned the strength and opportunities of the Weltwärts program. The central aspect that was claimed by the majority of the NGOs was a positive learning effect for the volunteers; the educational experience of the volunteers is pointed out as one central positive effect of the program by the majority of the NGOs. Intercultural experience, personal relations to people in other countries, reduction of prejudices, learning in and from other cultures, experience within the development policy environment, and awareness-raising about different social and cultural life scripts are examples of this. The potential behind these positive effects is that these volunteers can contribute to a more sensitive and differentiated perception of other countries as a form of mutual learning. As a result, the professed hope is that these volunteers become multipliers of a more sensitive understanding of global problems in our society (cf. NGO 3,4,6,8). Further, the educational seminars, required step and financed by the program and organized by the NGOs, are emphasized as a strong point of the concept (cf. NGO 1,4). Another positive point deals with the inclusiveness of the program. The program enables young people in Germany, who normally could not finance a stay abroad, to undertake this experience. In this sense, independence from social origins and the income of the parents is highlighted. Nevertheless, it is noticed that the majority of the volunteers are high-school graduates from well-heeled families (cf. NGO 1,4,7).

In assessing the weaknesses and pitfalls, one central point of criticism was the unidirectional character of the program. The idea of a reverse-program, which enables volunteers from developing countries to do civic service in Germany, was claimed by several NGOs already at the beginning of the program. Nevertheless the political realization of such a program seems to be illusionary at the current stage. As a result the concept is criticized by NGOs as ethnocentric and creating a program based on unequal footing (cf. NGO 2,5,6,7). Another point of criticism is the bureaucratic work-load for the NGOs: the financial handling is reprimanded, as it is especially difficult for small complimentary NGOs to negotiate (cf. NGO 1,4,5,6,8). Further the financial budget of the volunteers is questioned. The pocket money (around 100 euro) sometimes exceeds the income of workers in these countries (cf. NGO 2,5). Sporadically, the competence of the volunteers is also perceived critically. It is questioned whether the volunteer age is acceptable for such programs and to which extent their competence in ethnography and intercultural communication suffices (NGO 3,4).

The state interest behind the Weltwärts program from the NGO point of view is described in the following lines. One central assumption is a possible improved image for the BMZ,

publicity for the BMZ and higher acceptance of development assistance are motivations, assumed by the NGOs. One line of criticism concerns marketing Weltwärts as a “new volunteer service,” contradicting the reality that most of the voluntary services already existed long before (cf. NGOs 3, 5, 6). Connected to the state’s education mandate, the learning effect for the volunteers is assumed as one main source of motivation. The program is rather perceived as a learning-service more than a development service and seen as a grass-roots building initiative (cf. NGO 1, 3, 4, 8). Besides this, a diplomatic role of the volunteers is somewhat presumed by two NGOs; volunteers for opening economic markets and performing ambassador function are examples of this (NGO 1, 2).

The global system of social inequality and the question of whether Weltwärts could be seen as a concept of positive change or even as an factor of enhancement was questioned in the fourth part. A rising awareness of social inequality by the volunteers is pointed as a positive outcome. As a consequence, they could raise awareness of social inequality in general, among German youth, or as programmatic change after their return; they could further reflect their own role within the system critically. A better understanding of globalization and eye-opening new definition of felicity and sense are further positive remarks of the NGO coordinators (cf. NGO 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8). Contrary to this positive perspective, the unidirectional nature of the system is seen by some actors as a concept, that enhances social inequality. A strengthening of the current unequal global system or an expression of social global inequality are statements in these directions (cf. NGO 3, 5). Other NGO representatives do not perceive the program that critically, but also describe only a limited impact. The gap between rich and poor cannot be closed this way, and there is general acknowledgment that there is limited local impact in the developing countries. Further, it is argued that a relatively small number of volunteers can only change the system by a fraction of an inch (cf. NGO 3, 8, 1).

The question of global civic engagement or the strengthening of global civil society is again connected to the volunteers. New initiatives created by the volunteers after their service and willingness to commit themselves to “our one world” are typical declarations in this regard (cf. NGO 1,,3,4,6). To what extent this already applies to the work in the country depends, from their point of view, to a huge extent on the relationship to the NGO or institution in the country (cf. NGO 1, 5).

The last question about the effect on fair globalization summarizes in many ways the central lines of argumentation from the answers above. None or minimal effects are attested by the majority of the NGOs, whereby again the main criticism underlines the non-existence of a

reverse program. Potential is nevertheless seen in the activities of the volunteers and their differentiated awareness-raising about global problems (cf. NGO 1, 3, 5, 7, 8).

5 Analysis of the Program

5.1 The Question of Imperialism

Are there any justifiable reasons to relate Weltwärts with a form of cultural imperialism? Does this program continue to run the risk of perpetuating the cultural, political, and economic hegemony of “First World” over “Third world” countries, spreading notions of development and underdevelopment? Although there is a considerable amount of critical articles about Weltwärts, the direct accusation of imperialism does not occur. Some indirect claims are made that the imperialistic past is not reflected adequately enough. At a conference of VENRO, an umbrella organization of German development NGOs, an article of Andreas Rosen criticized that Weltwärts reproduces a system connected to the colonial power dynamic and secures privileges and inequality. It is assumed that the program has elements of structural racism. The view that the program does not adequately reflect a European history of 500 years of repression, oppression, proselytization and plundering is advanced (cf. Rosen 2009: 22). To which extent this accusation is accurate cannot be conclusively answered at this point. Nevertheless, good reasons can be given on the basis of the research materials that accusations of cultural imperialism are not justified in the context of Weltwärts. One central reason is that the implementation is based on partnerships with local project agencies from the host country itself. In this sense, the program rather aims toward the participation of volunteers as integral components of host institutions than on paternalistic development policies (cf. BMZ 2007:7). Additionally, the formula of learning by serving does in some way contrast to historical criticism and models, where a dualism between “enlightened” volunteers and passive beneficiaries was constructed. The claim of the BMZ “to achieve added developmental value for the project partner projects in terms of help towards self-help” (BMZ:2007:4) could in a very critical view still be interpreted as a concept of predominance because it suggests in some way, that the young volunteers from Germany deal with recipients who, before the Germans’ arrival, could not even reach the status of self-helping individuals. However this claim can also be positively understood as the awareness not to perceive the people in these countries as passive objects. Furthermore, another argument against imperialistic accusation can be pointed out by the surveys (cf. NGO 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). None of the NGO coordinators makes any claims, that could reflect a superior perspective.

This is, by taking in consideration the key role of these NGOs within the program, a highly convincing argument.

5.2 The Question of State Interest

What was the motivation of the state to introduce the Weltwärts program? This question has to be divided into two different directions. The first issue is to what extent, the program aims towards gains for German citizens rather than on interests of the respective host country. This question in the realistic tradition of International Relation suggests in some way that, based on an anarchistic system of nation-states, states always struggle for their own maximal benefit. There are some aspects of the program that could support this theory. The NGO coordinators point out that the learning effect for German citizens, also in connection with the education mandate of the state, can be understood as the central paradigm of the program (cf. NGO 1, 3, 4, 5). Further, diplomatic interests in the form of an ambassador function or volunteers for opening economic markets are further arguments by the coordinators (cf. NGO 1, 2) that could back up the claim that the primary aim driving the state to construct these programs is to derive benefits.

Although these are appropriate arguments, it does not answer why the state invests development funds in an IVS program administrated by NGOs instead of using state institutions for the program. At this point, the second issue appears. What patterns of reasons and motivations support this cooperation between state and non-state actors? What are the state interests for this cooperation? State-sponsored IVS programs, administrated by NGOs, can be localized as a cooperative form of global governance. It fits into an ongoing debate in global governance about the role and power of the state on the one hand and global civil society, in which NGOs are often highlighted as the central actors, on the other (Anheier 2001:2; Kaldor 2003:589). Global Governance became an emerging field of study during the 1990's. These studies have investigated the changing role of state sovereignty in the governing of global or transnational affairs (cf. Middell & Engel 2010: 9). One assumption in studies of global governance is that state has lost power to non-state actors and that political authority is increasingly institutionalized in spheres not controlled by states (cf. Sending 2006:651). In that sense the public-private partnership would reflect to some extent the confession of the state that non-governmental organizations are more adequate actors in this sphere of political governance. However, such partnerships could also be understood as a

form of monitoring intervention by the state to get insights into political spheres, that are actually out of governmental control. To investigate the motivation of German state interests in the recent system of global policy, a theoretical concept developed at the Norwegian Institute of International affairs by the scientists Ole Sending and Iver Neumann will be referred to. In their theory, they use elements of the conception of power developed by Michel Foucault in his studies on governmentality (cf. Sending & Neumann 2006:651). This concept criticizes three main claims of recent global governance studies: “Firstly that government must be studied as a process, not an institution. This analytical move is said to make it possible to analyze changes from hierarchical and sovereignty-based modes of governing to more horizontal, networked-based modes of governing. The second is said that various non-state actors have become much more powerful than before. The third is that political authority is increasingly dislodged from the sovereign state and in the direction of transnational policy-networks and functionally specific ‘spheres of authority’ (SOAs), where the state plays a strategic but not necessarily dominant role” (Sending & Neumann 2006: 651). In contrast, the central theoretical claim of these researchers is that “the role of non-state actors in shaping and carrying out global governance-functions is not an instance of transfer of power from the state to non-state actors but rather an expression of a changing logic or rationality of government (defined as a type of power) by which civil society is redefined from a passive object of government to be acted upon into an entity that is both an object and subject of government” (ibid:651). From their point of view, “studies of global governance excel in charting the diffusion and disaggregation of authority from the state to non-state actors, they fail in exploring both the power at work in the actual practices through which governance takes place, as well as the more specific content or logic of the relations between state and non-state actors. The extent to which non-state actors are directly funded by and actively encouraged by states to be engaged in processes of global governance is thus inadequately addressed” (ibid: 654).

Based on this criticism, they explore a new theory based on the concept of governmentality by Michel Foucault. In his book “governmentality,” which was published 1978, Foucault points out: “In contrast to sovereignty, government has its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its conditions, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health etc.” (Foucault 1978:100). In this sense, government has to be understood as the “conduct of conducts” This involves “a range of techniques and practices, performed by different actors, aimed to shape, guide and direct individuals and groups behavior and action

in particular directions” (Sending & Neumann 2006: 656). The way Foucault in which exactly understands government as a form of power can be reflected by the following quote:

“With sovereignty the instrument that allowed it to achieve its aims – that is to say, obedience to the laws – was the law itself: law and sovereignty were absolutely inseparable (...). With government it is a question not of imposing law on men, but of disposing things; that is to say, of employing tactics rather than laws, and even of using laws themselves as tactics – to arrange things in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such and such ends may be achieved” (Foucault 1978: 95).

The connection between power and governmentality is that governmentality is an analytical concept aimed at grasping government as a form of power (cf. Neumann & Sending 2006: 656). For Sending and Neumann, governmentality implies at least three things:

“First it is aimed at investigating the specific practices and techniques of governing as an empirical phenomenon, thus seeking to replace a focus on institutions (characteristic studies focused on sovereignty) with a focus on practices. Second, it is aimed at identifying the “mentality” or rationality that characterizes the systematic thinking and knowledge that is an integral to and renders possible different modes of governing. Third, it does not replace sovereignty or discipline – each of which represents distinct forms of power” (ibid: 656-657).

What does this mean with regard to global governance? What new insights can the perspective of governmentality offer in this regard? The Norwegian scientist point out two central implications:

“First, it explicitly builds on, and was originally developed as a tool for studying the process of governing. The concept of governmentality is aimed at investigating the practices of governing as an empirical phenomenon but also to identify the “mentality” – the rationality characteristic of the systematic thinking, reflection, and knowledge that is integral to different modes of governing. Second, it delivers a conception of the relation between the state and non-state actors that places the focus of sovereignty within a more general concern for changes in the practices and rationality of governing” (ibid: 657).

The British scientist Graham Burchell, who has written a huge variety of articles about Michel Foucault, uses the concept of governmentality as a redefinition of civil society. In his words, “civil society is defined as a sphere that is brought into task of governing by virtue of a contractual implication” (Burchell 1996: 26). According to global governance this implication involves:

“(…) offering individuals and collectivities active involvement in action to resolve the kind of issues hitherto held to be the responsibility of authorized governmental agencies. However, the price of this involvement is that they must assume active responsibility for these activities, both for carrying them out and, of course, for their outcomes, and in so doing they are required to conduct themselves in accordance with the appropriate (or approved) model of action. This might be described as a new form of “responsibilization” corresponding to the new forms in which the governed are encouraged, freely and rationally, to conduct themselves” (Burchell 1996:29).

Based on this view the final theoretical concept is presented by Sending and Neuman in the following longer quote:

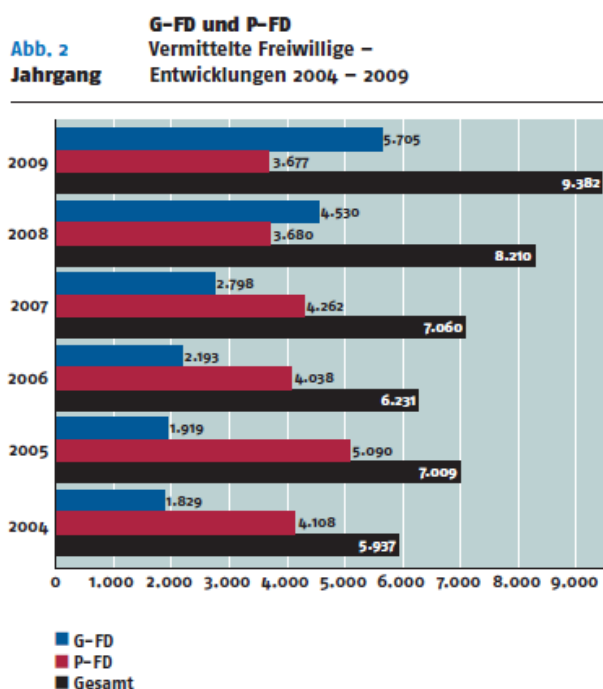
“The ascendance of non-state actors in shaping and carrying out global-governance function is not an instance of transfer of power from the state to non-state actors, or a matter of the changing sources of, or institutional locus for, authority. Rather it is an expression of a change in governmentality by which civil society is redefined from a passive object of government to be acted upon and into an entity that is both an object and a subject of government. Two crucial points thus emerge. First: “civil society or individuals or groups claiming to represent it does not constitute a realm devoid of relations of power. These organizations` goals and modes of operation are here seen as an effect of relations of power that are integral to the practices of governing and the thinking that underwrites it in late modern society. Second: the self-association and political will-formation characteristic of civil society organizations do not stand in opposition to the political power of the state but is a most central feature of its exercise: Civil society organizations are constituted as self- associating units – through technologies of agency – whose political significance resides both in their capacity to convey and mobilize the preferences and concerns of individuals and communities, and in their capacity to carry out regulatory functions” (Sending & Neumann 2006: 657-658).

Why was this theory chosen to explain the interest, motivation and strategy of the state? This theory applies to the Weltwärts program in many ways. First it has to be pointed out that it is not a simple transfer of power from the government to NGOs: the way the sphere of authority changes according to the state as well as to the non-governmental organizations must be analyzed. To a huge extent, the participating NGOs have already sent volunteers abroad before the introduction of the Weltwärts program; nevertheless, Weltwärts has changed the amount and structure of IVS programs in Germany on a large scale. In general, international volunteer programs are divided in two different juridical forms (cf. Wiemers-Meyer 2009:6):

- International Voluntary Service under private law (P-FD)⁵
- International Voluntary Service under state-regulated law (G-FD)⁶

International Voluntary Service under private law can be described as the former and recent framework in which volunteers are sent abroad exclusively by NGOs without funding and involvement of the state. In contrast G-FD programs are primarily state-funded programs. Weltwärts is included in the G-FD programs. The following graph portrays the way Weltwärts influenced and changed the structure of G-FD and P-FD programs in Germany

Figure 1: The Institutional Structure of International Voluntary Services in Germany before and after the Introduction of Weltwärts



Source: Freiwillige in Freiwilligendiensten „Lernen und Helfen in Übersee“ Wiemers-Meyer 2009:6

The Weltwärts program was introduced in 2008. In the same year, 2,257 volunteers were sent abroad. In 2009, 3,525 volunteers participated in the Weltwärts program, which is equivalent to 37% of all volunteers sent to foreign countries from Germany. In 2010 the amount of international volunteers increased to 4,288, which suggests an even higher percentage in relation to the total number of volunteers abroad (cf. Welwärts-Sekretariat 2011b:1). Before the existence of Weltwärts, from 2004-2007, P-FD programs exclusively administrated by

⁵ In German: International Voluntary Service under private law is translated as “Internationale Freiwilligendienste auf privatrechtlicher Basis. Abbreviation: P-FD

⁶ In German: International Voluntary Service under state regulated law is translated as “International Geregelte Freiwilligendienste. Abbreviation: G-FD

NGOs were the dominating structural form of IVS in Germany; this changed in 2008. With the introduction of this program, G-FD became the dominating form with a general increase from 2007 to 2008 of 7,060 to 8,210 (16%) and from 2008 to 2009, 8,210 to 9,382 (14%). At the same time, there was a marked decrease of P-FD from 4,262 to 3,677 volunteers. This reflects the remarks of the NGO-coordinators that the participating agencies have already sent volunteers abroad before the introduction (cf. NGO 3, 6). What is happening in the Weltwärts program is that a huge amount of P-FD program are not only replaced by G-FD programs, but also expanded. While some of the sending organization sent volunteers abroad through the Weltwärts program for the first time (sending organizations without pre-sending experience are limited to a small number of volunteers), the huge majority of the sending agencies have already administrated IVS before. For these agencies, the introduction has lead to an expansion of volunteer participation (cf. Weltwärts-Sekretariat 2011c:1). Returning to the question about a changing sphere of authority in regard to the state and to the non-governmental organizations, one can consider the following: Non-governmental organizations got the possibility to introduce an IVS program for the first time or to expand their IVS programs with a foundation of 580 Euros per volunteer per month from the state (BMZ) (cf. BMZ 2007:8). Through the program, they can strengthen their relations to institutions in developing countries, get more publicity, provide possibilities for the participating volunteers to engage in the NGOs after their return, and encourage the volunteers to assemble a group of sponsors (cf. BMZ 2007: 15). In this sense. the introduction of the program could lead to an increasing form of authority and power for the NGOs. However, at the same time, all IVS programs are subscribing to the guidelines of the BMZ (BMZ 2007). Further, all activities must be documented in the form of business and financial reports at the end of the year (cf. ibid:9). This means that while in some spheres increasing power and authority can be observed, participation within the program also inevitably conforms with state expectations. This is exactly what Burchell describes as a new governmentality of civil society that is

“offering individuals and collectivities active involvement in action to resolve the kind of issues hitherto held to be the responsibility of authorized governmental agencies. However, the price of this involvement is that they must assume active responsibility for these activities, both for carrying them out and, of course, for their outcomes, and in so doing they are required to conduct themselves in accordance with the appropriate (or approved) model of action. This might be described as a new form of “responsibilization” corresponding to the new forms in which the governed are encouraged, freely and rationally, to conduct themselves” (Burchell 1996:29).

On the other hand, the state transfers the main responsibility for the success of the program to the NGOs. The BMZ spends a huge amount of money for a program that can only be influenced indirectly. In this sense, the direct sphere of authority becomes limited. With regard to specific projects in the host country, a transfer of authority from state to non-state actors can be pointed out. At the same time, however, the general effect on the relation between the state and NGOs has to be taken in consideration. A former professor of political science at the “Freie University of Berlin,” Elmar Altvater, points out three central characteristics of NGOs:

“They are perceived as advocates, for people who actually are marginalized in the political media (advocacy). Their campaigns aim to change state- and business-driven behavior (campaigning). Furthermore they tie up a considerable amount of knowledge about specific fields (expertise)”⁷ (Altvater 2006: 8).

These characteristics clarify the interest of the state for a strategic cooperation with NGOs. On the one hand, they directly integrate actors who normally judge state and development policies quite critically. Further the expertise of NGOs can be involved within a governmental program. This is, from my point of view, what Foucault describes as “conduct of conducts.” or a technique “performed by different actors, aimed to shape, guide and direct individuals and groups behavior and action in particular directions” (Sending & Neumann 2006: 656). These arguments become even more convincing when taking into consideration the very positive image of NGOs in the media. Ehrichs writes, “Northern Media loves NGOs (...) because of their small scale and altruistic nature, these organizations are not as subject to scrutiny by media or academia as large development institutions are” (Ehrichs 2002:1). That means that the integration of NGOs within the Weltwärts program, also might benefit the state with a more positive image among the public; this assumption is in line with the argumentation of NGO coordinators. From their point of view, the state’s interest is to improve the image of the BMZ through, publicity for the BMZ and therefore higher acceptance for development assistance. Furthermore, it is criticized that the illustration of Weltwärts in the media as a “new development service” contradicts the reality that most of the voluntary services already existed before the introduction of Weltwärts (cf. NGOs 3,5,6). Sending and Neumann write: “The ascendance of nonstate actors in shaping and carrying out global-governance function (...) is an expression of a change in governmentality by which

⁷ The quote has been translated from German by the author

civil society is redefined from a passive object of government to be acted upon and into an entity that is both an object and a subject of government” (Sending & Neumann 2006: 657-658). In some ways, the participating sending agencies remain an object. They are used to advance the image of the BMZ and to link expertise to the field of development policy. Further, the framework of conduct is subject to BMZ guidelines (cf. BMZ 2007).

A redefinition of typical NGO responsibilities thus occurs when, through changing the role of this actor, which normally is involved in critical campaigns against state programs, it transforms into an active subject within a governmental program. Through the transfer of the responsibility to ensure success of the volunteer service (cf. BMZ 2007:9), the NGO becomes an active and responsible actor within the concept and, in this sense, a subject of the government. According the question to which extent Weltwärts is a concealed concept of state interests, it has to be pointed out that the theory of Sending & Neumann is in the first instance a descriptive theory of specific logics and rationales of the state. Nevertheless these logics and rationales can be challenged. It can be asked to what extent the integration of NGOs within government programs could threaten the traditional critical observer role of NGOs. On the other hand, it can also be supported that NGOs, which have long experience, traditions and expertise as well as a huge amount of contacts to grassroots institutions in the host countries, are given responsibility for the administration of the program.

5.3 The Question of Elitism

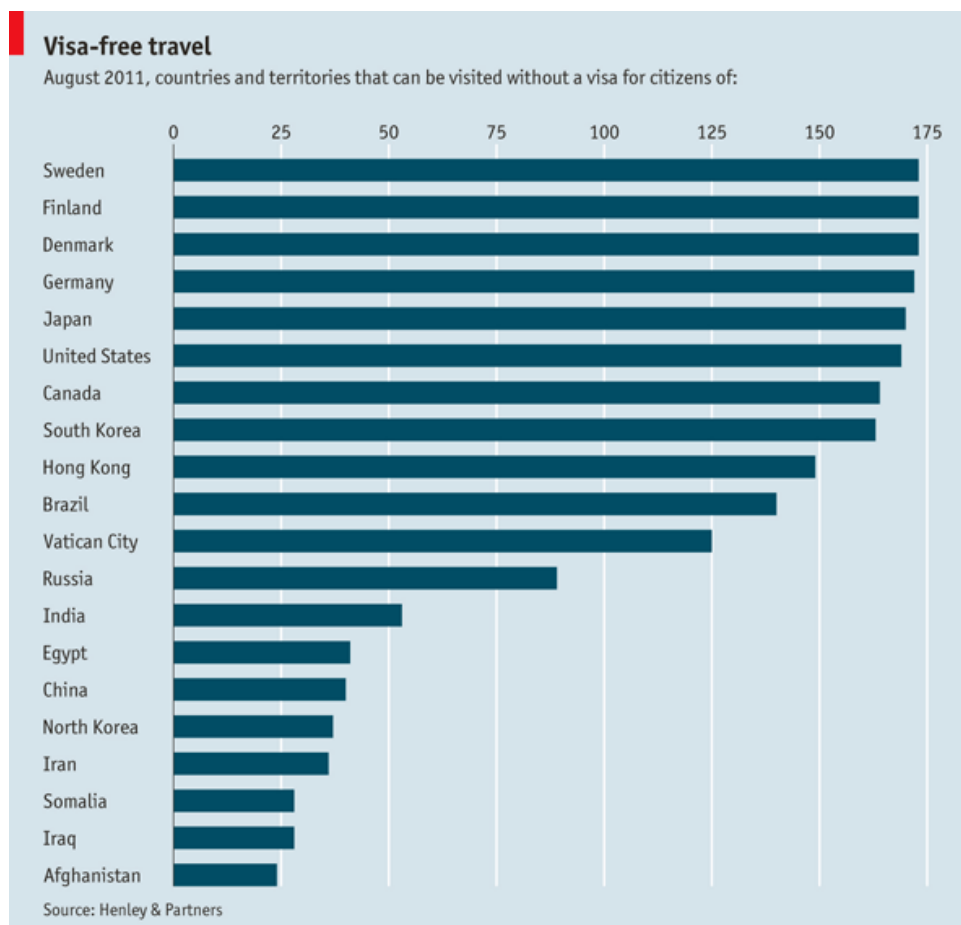
Elitism defined “as the power certain members of a society have to make decisions for and dominate other as well as a controlled and unequal access to resources and opportunities like education, health care and jobs” (Brav et al. 2002:4), again has to be assessed on two levels- the national and the global. At the national level, the question is to what extent the selection process is based on elitist criteria. The openness of the program has been explored in chapter 3.1. With the exception of the age restriction, the program is open to wide variety of people (cf. BMZ 2007: 5-6). Several coordinators highlighted the inclusiveness of the program as one of the central strengths and pointed out that the program enables young people in Germany, who normally could not finance a stay abroad, to have this experience (cf. NGO 1,4,7). These claims are backed up by an article of Hans-Dietrich Lehmann on the Weltwärts-Conference of 2009 in Bonn. In his article, he relays conversations with volunteers, who pointed out that they would not have been able to have this experience without the foundation

of the state. This clarifies, from his point of view, the independence of the program from social status and income of the parents (cf. Lehmann 2009:16).

Nevertheless the coordinators in the survey also reported that the majority of the volunteers are high-school graduates from well-off families (cf. NGO 1,4,7). In this sense, it could be critically assumed that though the formal guidelines reflect a picture of inclusiveness, the selection process of the NGOs is still based on elitist criteria. Empirically, this question cannot be answered, because no data exist about the social origin in relation to successful applications. However, two good reasons contradict this assumption: first the origin and profile of the NGOs, by which equality and equal access to resources are often constitutional elements (Boli & Thomas 1997: 172); Second, the fact that different NGOs advertise even more equal participation patterns. For example, the sending-agency “Welthaus Bielefeld” invites people with apprenticeship experience and without high-school graduation certificates for participation. In this context, an official guideline for all sending agencies was published, to explain in what ways integration of this target group could be achieved more efficiently (Battermann 2008).

While on the national level many arguments operate against an elitist accusation, one finds a different picture on the global level. Who actually has the opportunity to participate or to act as international volunteer on a global level? An empirical large-scale study published by CSD has pointed out that the opportunity to become an international volunteer is highly connected to one’s country of origin and its level of economic development (Mc Bride et al. 2004: 15). Additionally, the visa requirements are highly different for people from developing countries and developed countries. If one receives a visa depends greatly on a variety of variables, including one’s income and financial status. In 2011, the graph from “Henly & Partners” about visa-free travel around the world was published in “the Economist” This graph portrays the uneven distribution of the possibility of free-travel. In some ways, it clarifies the way in which borders have been drawn in recent times:

Figure 2: The distribution of Visa-free travel



Source: The Economist online August 10th 2011: The Wanderers

<http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/08/visa-free-travel?fsrc=scn/fb/wl/mt/thewanderers>

While the first six states can all be classified as members of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) with a high income status, developing countries are placed at the end of the list. That means that the possibility of citizens from Germany, the United States or Sweden for free travel activities in foreign countries is more than three times higher than for citizens from developing countries like Egypt, Somalia or Afghanistan. In some way, this graph reflects elitist possibilities for traveling around the world. This is a central point for which the Weltwärts program is often criticized. While the program uses the privileges pointed out in the graph to give Germans the opportunity to go abroad, the program does not enable people to come to Germany. Andreas Rosen's article from the VENRO conference speaks in this context of a "hypocrisy of exchange" (Rosen 2009:22). He points out that the West dictates how and where forms of intercultural exchange and global learning take place. Using the example of refugee policies, the metaphor is given that, one group

comes by airplane, and the other drowns in the Mediterranean Sea (cf. *ibid*:23). That means the West defines the point at which movement is an illegal cross-border activity, a refugee problem, an unacceptable burden on the welfare system, or simply just a development service.

A form of double moral standards is advanced with regard to the investment of 70 million euros for a learning service for the German Youth in developing countries and on the other hand, not to invest the same amount of money for a reverse program, but rather to support the perfidious defense system Frontex, which is specialized in defending European borders on the Mediterranean Sea (cf. *ibid*:23). A potential reverse program aims to include a component within the Weltwärts program that offers young people from the South the possibility to participate in a volunteer service in Germany, as the non-existence of a reverse program was pointed out by the majority of the NGO coordinators as the central weakness of Weltwärts. Accordingly, the unidirectional nature of the program is criticized as ethnocentric. In their opinion, without a reverse program, a true partnership cannot be achieved (cf. NGO 2, 5, 6, 7). This point of view, which is reflected by the survey, can be understood as a general policy and demand of the huge majority of the participating sending agencies. From the beginning, the general assembly of VENRO, composed of 116 NGOs, has demanded that the component of a reverse program must be included (cf. Peters 2009:44). At the VENRO Conference in 2009, the following table displaying benefits of a reverse-program was presented:

Figure 3: The Integration of a Reverse Program within the Weltwärts Concept: Summary of the Benefits for Germany and Host Countries and its Organizations

| Benefits of Incoming Programmes: | |
|---|---|
| <p>For the receiving countries and organisations in Germany/Europe:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteering has a more sustainable effect on the dialogue of nations than some diplomatic meetings. • Volunteers contribute by sharing their knowledge or alternative methods in certain fields (e.g. technology, nursery, teaching). • New perception of foreigners as a resource as opposed to a mere classification as refugees and migrants and thus as a potential problem. • Internationalisation of work places, caused by the need for communicating in English and co-operating with VISA issuing institutions, resulting in a fairer treatment of foreigners. • Increased contact with firms abroad may well affect trade relations (e.g. boost exports). • In addition to the theoretical knowledge, new target groups gain experience regarding VISA regulations and problems. • New target groups can experience similarities and differences between the North and the South. • Change the perception of »help«. | <p>For the sending countries and organisations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiation and development of an intercultural knowledge transfer, reflection of one's own culture and development of new perspectives for the future. • To build up social capital. • Volunteers gain cultural knowledge. They return ambitious and motivated, wanting to get involved in their societies. • Returnees may move on to bigger cities within or even international organisations outside their home country. They will still stay committed to their country. • Adjusting the structural imbalance in terms of power, attitude and ability. • Strengthen the partnership of the development organisations: personal relations as a basis for institutional relations. • Volunteers can become »agents of change« in their home countries. • New views on target groups at risk, like handicapped persons, women in danger of domestic violence, street children. |

Source: VENRO Conference 2009 "Going beyond Weltwärts": Page 52.

The point "change the perception of help" can be interpreted with regard to the explorations in chapter 2 about the historical pathway of IVS, as a revolutionary chance to change old patterns and relationships. At the beginning, the BMZ showed an openness to include reverse-programs after the end of the pilot period in 2011. Due to budget cuts in 2010, the sending agencies at the moment have "serious doubts if young volunteers from the South will really be able to come to Germany in the future" (Peters 2009:45). From my point of view, the question of whether elitist accusations of the Weltwärts program are justifiable relates in many ways to an introduction of a reverse program. Surely, there are open questions about such a program. In what way should people be selected for voluntary service in Germany? Who can be granted visas and insurance? What would the educational framework for such a program be, etc? Without a doubt, these are highly competitive challenges. Still, there are examples in other countries, like Canada or Norway, where reverse programs have already been successfully practiced for more than ten years (cf. Legat 2009: 47). Peter Legat, a member of the Norwegian reverse-program Fredskorpset Norway, presents its institutional framework in the following lines:

“Fredskorpset Norway is a public administrative body answerable to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and financed via the Norwegian state. At its core is the exchange of personnel (FK participants) between partnering organizations and institutions in Norway and countries in the South (...) The central aims are “individual learning, sparking interests in development issues, and information work in their own society after return. The age range is 18 to 25 years” (ibid: 47).

Since the establishment of FK Norway in 2000 up to 2009, “more than 4,000 volunteers have participated, among which almost 1,300 were exchanged from the South to Norway, most of them coming from African countries”:

Figure 4: The IVS program “Fredskorpset Norway”: Direction of Exchange and Origin of Participants from 2000-2009

| Direction of exchange | Number of participants (2000–2009) |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| North-South | 1,862 |
| South-North | 1,279 |
| South-South | 975 |
| TOTAL | 4,116 |

| Origin of participants | Number of South-North participants (2000–2009) |
|------------------------|--|
| Africa | 739 |
| Asia | 283 |
| Latin America | 227 |
| Europe (Eastern) | 30 |
| TOTAL | 1,279 |

Source: VENRO Conference 2009 “Going beyond Weltwärts”: Page 47

Based on the similarities to the age group and general aims, this program might help to establish a successful reverse-program for Weltwärts. Perhaps also with regard to the juridical barriers, which are outlined in detail in his article (cf. ibid:45), this example shows there are possibilities to restrict the global elitist approach. Weltwärts officially announces its goal to make globalization fair or to encourage democracy (cf. Weltwärts-Sekretariat 2011b: 1), and thus tries to give itself a profile with highly normative objectives of equality and justice. If one takes these claims seriously, it has to be taken in consideration how borders are drawn

in recent decades and what kinds of unequal or elitist privileges are connected to this. A reverse-program could, from my point of view, also be seen as a symbolic expression to question these one-sided privileges.

5.4 The Question of Civic Engagement

Is Weltwärts a program that enables a win-win situation? Does the international civic service of the volunteers accrue to benefits in a collective and individual sense? In May 2008 the German newspaper “Süddeutsche Zeitung” published the article “Egotrip ins Elend” which can be translated as “Ego-Trip into Poverty”. In this article, it outlined in a polemic way that Weltwärts actually exclusively benefits the volunteer. Based on a description of a voluntary placement in Cambodia and a critical argumentation of the political scientist Claudia von Braunbühl, a picture of the volunteer was constructed, which highlighted the naivety and incompetence for effective support, based on primary motivations of adventure (cf. Töpfl 2008). A contrary position was presented at the Conference “Weltwärts and Beyond”, organized by the umbrella organization VENRO, in Bonn. At this conference, reports from local partners in the developing countries pointed out the “value of the important contribution Weltwärts is making in terms of joint learning from and with each other and achieving deeper understanding and partnership” (Lehmann 2009: 16). One positive aspect that was highlighted in particular by these host institutions, is “that the Weltwärts program has provided a binding framework for previously “unregulated” voluntary service placements, and it has resulted in young people serving for longer periods of time, which is beneficial for the partner projects” (ibid: 16). Lionel Adriaan, a representative of a host institution in South Africa, emphasizes the following central aspect for successful voluntary service and a win-win situation: “The selection of participants should be done carefully and meticulously and in accordance with definite selected criteria, e.g. maturity, personality, skills, academic background, temperament, motivation, spirit for adventure etc.” (Adriaan 2009: 18). One central component for successful voluntary service, which was raised in the newspaper article as well as by the representative of the host institution, is the question of the motivation of the volunteers.

Jan Niermann from the University of Vienna describes his experiences as a member of the sending agency “Ayampe – Projekt für lokale Vielfalt e.V.” regarding the motivations of volunteers. Based on the letters of motivations, which are a required element in the

application for the program, Niermann explores four categories that motivate volunteers to participate in the Weltwärts program:

1. "I want to change something and to show solidarity – The aim is to help, to do something useful, and to act in solidarity.
2. I want to learn and experience something new – Learning about new cultures, new people and a new way of life is the central motivation. Further, it also includes the decision to have an adventure and find one's way in completely foreign surroundings.
3. The ability to speak different languages and to obtain intercultural competences, also as a component for later occupations, is a further typical reason. The special focuses here are the requirements of the global labor market and the enhancement of the respective curriculum vitae.
4. We are living in a consumer society – this remark reflects criticism of the Western way of life and its achievement-oriented society on the one hand and the longing for a more direct and simpler way of life on the other"⁸ (Niermann 2009:4-5).

The third category of motivation (to use the voluntary service for the requirements of the labor market) is discussed critically in the media. Barbara Dribbusch, published an article in the nationwide newspaper TAZ, in which she lambasts the volunteers for instrumentalizing the voluntary service as a cheap possibility to perk up their curriculum vitae. For her, "Weltwärts" is an expression of an increasing market of lifestyle-design (cf. Dribbusch 2008:1). This idea brings new outcomes and inferences to the question of whether Weltwärts could be described as a successful civic service with mutual benefits. The argumentation that criticizes IVS as a career tool or as a cheap way of traveling and seeing the world—a form of tourism- is also pointed out by the Center for Social Development as a typical accusation (cf. Brav et al. 2002:8). However, it is highlighted that "international program outcomes have not been systematically evaluated (...) whether these programs have a positive or negative impact on the receiving communities is not known" (Brav et al. 2002:9). In September 2009, an expert conference in Berlin was held about the quality and effects of voluntary services. Weltwärts was one case discussed at this conference. In this regard, it was declared that currently no research exists that comparatively investigates different quality standards and effects with regard to voluntary services (cf. Possart & Stuth 2009:11). In the context of the

⁸ This quote has been translated from German by the author

conference different forms of quality management were presented by the sending agencies. Whether a cross-institutional quality management body should be developed was discussed critically caused by the heterogeneity of the sending agencies and services (cf. *ibid*: 11). However, it was pointed out, that quality management has to be based on an agreement of minimum standards, which are perceived by all participants as necessary (*ibid*:11). For Quifd, the specialized agency in the field of quality in voluntary service, the following minimum standards have to be taken in consideration for the Weltwärts program:

- “Careful selection of the host organization and volunteers
- Common understanding of voluntary service
- Clear distribution of tasks between sending and host organisation
- Information exchange
- Recognition of the voluntary engagement” (Stuth 2009:70):

Further, there have been interesting research and development outcomes from the eFeF project, a network of church and development organizations, associations and agencies in the protestant sector, all involved in the funding program Weltwärts. According to the program, the project aims “to give concrete form to the quality standards of the eFeF in respect of relationships with international partners and to promote the implementation, observance and continuous improvement of the quality standards in relation to cooperation between the agencies and partner organizations” (Freise et al. 2011: 7). The research project between 2009 and 2011 “examined the quality of the development volunteer service with partner organizations overseas and in Eastern Europe, discussed the challenges associated with the development of quality and drew up proposals for further development (*ibid*: 7)”. One central conclusion of the research project was that:

“The direct involvement of the hosting organizations in the selection and practical preparation of the volunteers can make an enormous contribution to the quality of the services. It is often the case that organizations will have different amounts of experience when they come together, some will have many years of experience in the sending and hosting of volunteers while others involvement in the Weltwärts development program will be their first contact with the volunteer concept. This means that there will be different levels of experience and diffuse expectations and concepts about the role of the volunteers on the one hand and the role and responsibilities of those doing educational work in the implementation of the service on the other hand. It is therefore advisable to clarify the resultant expectations with regard to the volunteers and to jointly decide what is acceptable

to expect from the volunteers and what cannot be expected within the remit of a voluntary service” (ibid: 26-27).

The special role and significance of the host organization for a successful civic service engagement is also emphasized in the investigation published by the South African Network (SAGE). In this investigation, a research team headed by Dr. Brigitte Schwinge, describes and analyzes experiences in the context of Weltwärts service in South Africa, which contains the highest amount of Weltwärts volunteers around the world. For the study, interviews were conducted with the eight sending organizations from Germany, with members of the 18 host organizations and with the volunteers. Further, the qualitative method of “participating observation” was used for documenting the everyday work performed by volunteers. In this study it was pointed out that beside the motivation of the volunteers, the attitude of the host organization and its members with regard to the volunteers plays a decisive role for the achievement of a successful civic service experience (cf. Schwinge 2011: 192) . In general, the effect and quality of the volunteer services were judged fairly positively:

“The service of volunteers can be described in all host organizations as an added value: in form of additional manpower and partly in the form of inspiration for the work or directly for the target group of the organization. Further the experience with the volunteers can symbolically contribute to the recognition of common ground and human equality of the people, thus counteracting feelings of separation. On the other hand, it has been noticed that the employment of the volunteers is often more time-consuming than originally expected. For successful service from both perspectives, not only the actions and attitude of the volunteers is decisive: it is especially the engagement, the willingness and the resources of the host organization to adjust to the experience of the volunteers that, highly influences the subjective success of both sides. In that cases, a positive effect for the host organization is also, that they not only perceive themselves as beneficiaries, but rather as care providers”⁹ (Schwinge 2011:10).

It can be conclusively noted, then, that a successful civic service highly depends on the motivation of the volunteer as well as on the attitude and engagement of the host organization. Thus, a closer integration of the host organization regarding the selection of the volunteers should be taken into consideration, to preclude false expectations and to contribute to positive mutual perceptions. If this is the case, the study conducted in South Africa suggests that a

⁹ The quote was translated from German by the author

huge amount of mutual benefits can be attained. In judging to what extent this win-win situation only applies to the specific case of South Africa or can also be claimed for other host countries must be investigated by further research projects. Currently, an evaluation from the independent agency Ramboell is explored, which will be published in the beginning of 2012. This investigation, commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, will carry out an independent assessment of the Weltwärts program with regard to its concept, implementation and impact so far as well as its procedures and organization. This evaluation might provide more detailed insights into this question

5.5 The Question of Global Learning

Global learning by serving and performing educational work are described as central aims of the program by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (cf. BMZ:2007: 4). To what extent does the Weltwärts program have the potential to reach these objectives? In the theoretical chapter, it was emphasized that Global Learning should be regarded as “a process that extends to all stages from preparation, accompaniment and follow-up and is created as a mixture of information, experience, and reflection” (Grätz 2011:1). In this regard, the guidelines of the BMZ (BMZ 2007) and the concept for returned volunteers (BMZ 2009) can be described as a promising framework to reach this aim. The obligatory seminars before, during and after the service, as well as the additional possibility for return work, contributes to a holistic approach. Additionally, the coordinators emphasize the educational framework as a central strength of the program (cf. NGO 1, 4). Furthermore, the professed hope is that these volunteers become multipliers of a more sensitive understanding of global problems in our society (cf. NGO 3,4,6,8).

While on this pragmatic level central parameters seem to be given, it becomes to justify in questioning the extent to which the program “expands one’s own horizon concerning global interconnectedness, the reflection of one’s own identity in connection with the capacity to see the world from the perspective of someone else” (Lin 1999: 130). Several educational potentials are pointed out by the NGO coordinators: Intercultural experience, personal relations to people in other countries, reduction of prejudices, learning in and from other cultures, experience within the development policy environment, and an increasing awareness of different social and cultural life scripts (cf. NGO 3,4,6,8). Nevertheless, the question of

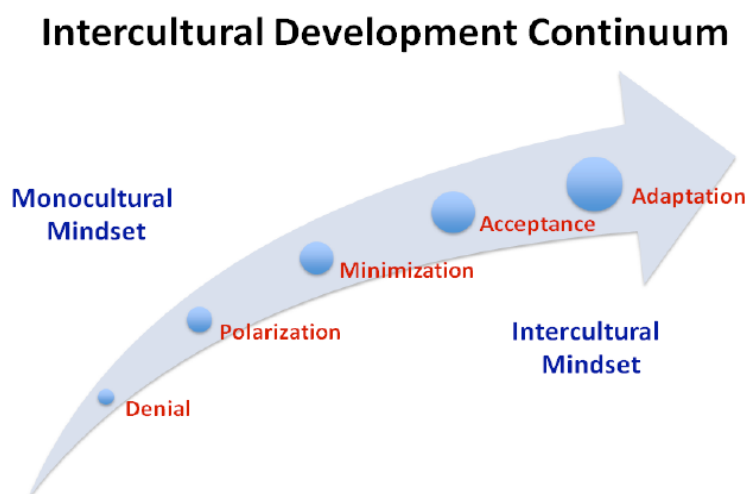
whether the program has changed the perspective and personality of the volunteers remains open.

One model in which way this question could be investigated is presented by the NGO “AFS Interkulturelle Begegnung e.V”. AFS is one of the largest sending agencies involved in the program, over 450 volunteer placements are currently administrated by this organization. The research aims to investigate the change of intercultural competences through International Voluntary Service. As a measuring instrument, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) is used, which was developed by the US researcher Milton Bennett. Bennett argues

“that intercultural sensitivity/competence is not some innate characteristic, but a learned ability. As people gain experience in intercultural situations, and reflect on those experiences, they develop more complex understandings of culture that lead to greater ability to discern cultural differences, and ultimately, to appropriately modify their own behavior in non-native cultural circumstances. Intercultural experience is likely a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for gaining cultural sensitivity; an experience must be processed and considered by a person or it may very well be filed away with little long-term impact on the person’s worldview” (Sample 2009: 2).

The IDI method reflects “the degree to which cultural differences and commonalities in values, expectations, beliefs, and practices are effectively bridged, an inclusive environment is achieved and specific differences that exist in your organization are addressed from a mutual adaption perspective” (Hammer 2009:3). On this basis, the intercultural development continuum was developed, which identifies specific orientations that range from more monocultural to more intercultural or global mindsets. This continuum is encompassed in the following graph:

Figure 5: Method of the Intercultural Development Index: Stage-Model from the Monocultural Mindset to the Intercultural Mindset



Source: Hammer, Mitch (2009): Intercultural Development Inventory v.3 (IDI). Organization. Individual Profile Report. Maryland USA: Page 3. URL: www.idiinventory.com

Figure 6: Different stages of the Intercultural Development Continuum

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Denial | An orientation that likely recognizes more observable cultural differences (e.g. food) but may not notice deeper cultural difference (e.g. conflict resolution styles) and may avoid or withdraw from cultural differences. |
| Polarization: | <p>A judgmental orientation that views cultural differences in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them.’ This can take the form of:</p> <p>Defense: An uncritical view toward one’s owns cultural values and practices and an overly critical view toward other cultural values and practices.</p> <p>Reversal: An overly critical orientation toward one’s owns cultural values</p> |
| Minimization | An orientation that highlights cultural commonality and universal values and principles that may also mask deeper recognition and appreciation of cultural differences. |
| Acceptance: | An orientation that recognizes and appreciates patterns of cultural difference and commonality in one’s own and other cultures. |
| Adaption: | An orientation that is capable of shifting cultural perspective and changing behavior in culturally appropriate and authentic ways” (ibid:4). |

Source: Hammer, Mitch (2009): Intercultural Development Inventory v.3 (IDI). Organization. Individual Profile Report. Maryland USA: Page 3. URL: www.idiinventory.com

The continuum can be understood as a multi-stage model. Each stage along the continuum can be understood as a step toward an intercultural mindset: This theoretical conceptualization was used by AFS to gain deeper insights into the intercultural competences of the Weltwärts

participants. From 2008 to 2009, 50% of the volunteers have participated in the IDI research agenda (cf. Langer 2009:44). The results of the ex-post-tests clarify that 79% of the participants fall into the category of Minimization. The second most common category is Polarization, to which 18% of the volunteers can be allocated. It is noteworthy that the huge majority of these 18% polarize in the form of Reversal, which signifies an overly critical orientation toward one's own cultural values and practices. According to the development between the pre-test and the post-test, it is remarkable that after the year abroad, a huge amount of volunteers changed from Polarization to Minimization orientations. At the beginning of the year, 34% were categorized as Polarized, while after the service, a decrease to 18% was noted. In this theoretical model this is interpreted as a successful step toward a global mindset (cf. *ibid*: 44). The representative of AFS, Karen Langer, highlights the high validity of the IDI method and the usage of the results for AFS training methods. Nevertheless, she points out that the method is limited in investigating explanations for different development. In her point of view, the supplementation of qualitative methods could help to get deeper insights into this question (cf. *ibid*:44).

With due respect to this well-grounded psychological model and analysis, it is questionable from my point of view whether this experience and learning can be analyzed within a successive step-model toward an ultimate global mindset. The introduced theory of global learning highlights a critical reflection of one's own horizon (cf. Lin 1999:130). However, whether this can be investigated through an exclusive orientation based on competences must be challenged. An interesting outcome in this regard has been explored within the qualitative study in South Africa by Dr. Brigitte Schwinge. In her conclusion, she points out that paradoxical achievements of learning within the Weltwärts program are always connected to backward steps and crises at the first place:

"Based on the aspiration that the service could intensify and accelerate self development as well as contribute in a highly revolutionary sense, the first experiences within their placement are often profoundly disillusioning for the volunteers. The challenges are expected to be more dazzling and the role of the self more splendid before the departure, than the real situation in the host country actually appears. In the new world with unknown rules, the volunteers seem to revert in their development at first. They turn into a child again, who, in a situation

comparable to a second acculturation process, has to learn everything anew”¹⁰ (Schwinge 2011:187).

Based on qualitative interviews with volunteers and the method of “participatory observation” empirical results of the study clarify:

Crises during the stay are often experienced as evocative moments with a huge effect on the changing of social attitudes. It is a grievous but also an educational experience, to understand that the opportunities to help are often more limited than expected, and that, in contrast, the volunteers are often dependent on the assistance and acceptance of the people in the host country. Several volunteers in this regard have pointed out that self-awareness, for example about the own role in a globalized world, manifested in irritating, disillusioning or sometimes even disturbing experiences”¹¹ (ibid: 190).

What conclusions can be made on the basis of global learning? In general, the surveys with the NGO coordinators, the Intercultural Development Index concept used by AFS, and the qualitative case-study in South Africa all describe in different ways a successful process of global learning within the Weltwärts program. The statements of the coordinators in tandem with the AFS study highlight a transformation of experience, awareness, perspectives and attitudes. The question of how these changes occur remains open, however. The last study has provided interesting outcomes: the quotations given above insinuate that the processes which enables the changes cannot be understood a linear capacity-building, but rather have to be understood as a highly complex phenomenon in which antagonisms and crises are a constitutional part of the process. These are challenging acknowledgements in the planning and regulation of global learning. Conclusively, it can be noted, that processes of global learning do take place within the Weltwärts program. However, to answer and understand the origin of these processes requires further research.

¹⁰ The quote has been translated by the author

¹¹ The quote has been translated by the author

6 Conclusion:

This thesis can be read as a contribution to the research field of International Voluntary Service. The theoretical approaches of my thesis have been the theory of “global learning and civic engagement” and the theory of “a concealed concept of elitism, state interest and imperialism.” The aim of this thesis was, based on a dialectical understanding of these two theories, to investigate to what extent IVS reflects the first theoretical concept or rather has to be interpreted within the second theoretical approach. The results will be presented according to these two theories.

Elitism was defined as the power certain persons have to make decisions for and dominate others and as an unequal access to resources and opportunities. Access to participation in IVS was and still is not equally distributed in a global context. A primarily unidirectional program exists whereby Western people volunteering in the South can be observed since the beginning of IVS in the time of colonialism in the 18th and 19th centuries, who were often engaged under a faith-based approach. Some changes have been pointed out since the time after the end of World War II and during the Cold War, including, for example, the creation of United Nation volunteers, which offers people especially from developing countries to engage as international volunteer. However the dominant structure remains as a one-way system of Western people often with the wish to support development in the Southern countries.

In recent times, North-to-South flows still dominate on a large scale. While South-to-South has also seemed to increase somewhat, the redirection of Southern people volunteering in the North hardly exists on a global scale. The recent case study of the large scale state-funded German IVS program *Weltwärts* reproduces this elitist one-way direction in the first instance. The example of free-visa travel it has shown to what huge extent the crossing of borders depends on the economic status of the country in question in our time. However there is an ongoing debate, especially pursued by participating NGOs, to integrate a reverse program that would enable people from the South to volunteer in Germany. This debate reflects that efforts have been made recently to challenge the elitist one-way direction of IVS, but, seeing as there are still no programs that have been implemented, it shows at the same time how difficult it is to change old elitist patterns.

State interests regarding IVS can be observed during the time of colonialism and especially in the time of the Cold War, where IVS was often instrumentalized for the fight against communism. It can still be questioned to what extent the education of a state's own citizens and an ambassador role of volunteers for the strengthening of foreign affairs are the central calculations for Western states to grant funding to these programs. The case study of Weltwärts outlines a complex cooperative system between the state and NGOs for the implementation of the IVS program. NGOs are growing as the central authority for the placement and conduct of service in the host country. At the same time, the expertise of NGOs can be used to bolster a governmental program and its image. Furthermore the program enables, through the involvement of NGOs, the integration of actors within a governmental program that normally have attitudes toward the state that are characterized by critical campaigning.

Imperialism understood as a form of hegemony of Northern countries over Southern countries can trace back a long history in the field of IVS. Binaries have been reproduced by changing terms over the last century: Colonial powers versus colonies, the civilized West versus the wild South, developed countries versus underdeveloped countries. These are furthered through international volunteer services, by which self-perception and foreign-perception were often constructed in the form of: enlightened beneficiaries versus passive beneficiaries or development experts versus underdeveloped locals. The question is to what extent these dualistic approaches have been overcome in recent times. The case study of Weltwärts defines itself as a development service, which should achieve added development through the partner projects aiming for help towards self-help in the host country. This shows in what way the rhetoric has changed or at least become more cautious. To what extent it is more an expression of the political correctness of our time, or whether a change in fundamental patterns of perception has taken place, is hard to judge. However, the creation of an IVS program, which understands itself primarily as a learning service and is rooted in local partner organizations, has the potential to question these binaries. The large-scale qualitative research study, which was conducted in South Africa in the context of the Weltwärts program, has pointed out that according to examples of successful services:

“Host institutions experience themselves in the work with volunteers not only as aid recipient, but also as care provider. Especially the emotional support and the informal education, which is offered for the volunteers by many members of the host organization, effects in many ways a positive self-concept of such organization. The experience of reversal, to help a rich, high-technology country like Germany by the education of its youth, contributes in a sustainable form for the self-confidence of the local organization” (Schwinge 2011:10).

The question is to what extent examples like this can be reached by IVS programs. As explored above, a successful service is highly connected to the motivation of the volunteer. According to this, the question is in what way the volunteer reflects historical and recent inequalities and binaries in a global context. If this critical education is given and the volunteer in the first line aims to learn with and from the people of developing countries, a service like Weltwärts might have the potential to enable the overcoming of old binaries. This raises the question of how IVS programs as learning services might be a promising concept in which civic engagement and global learning become central focal points and hence displace old patterns of elitism and imperialism.

The essential point if this remains only an idealistic construction or really takes place highly depends, in my point of view, on the question of what exactly is meant by learning. If it aims in the first instance only on the increased capacity-building of the volunteer, the whole concept can be challenged. To defy accusations like those hurled at the Weltwärts program of an egotrip to poverty or a concealed concept for tuning up the Curriculum Vitae, global learning has to be more. Hence, a connection to a critical concept of education has to be explored. The professor of Intercultural pedagogy, Astrid Messerschmidt, points out four central points about a critical approach towards global learning:

- “That privileges and social positioning are reflected and societal exclusion and discrimination is broached.
- That identities and affiliations are challenged with regard to their construction.
- That own educational entanglement within hegemonic relations is pointed out and reflected.
- That colonial and neocolonial patterns are recognized and discussed” (Willebrand 2010: 115).

This clarifies that praxis of the reflection of failure and of the frontiers of the self also has to be part of a critical education (cf. *ibid*). The examples at the end of the chapter 4.5 could be connected to this approach.

However, these critical concepts of learning can only be a first step on the right way. The perception of voluntary service will always retain a connotation of altruistic giving. This is very valuable, but at the same time can have a strange impact when it is always conducted in the same way. Therefore the creation of possibilities for people from the South to volunteer in the Western World has to be increased on a large scale. So, are we at a stage of a new global civil society where these fundamental changes could occur?

The case study has reflected in which ways NGOs increasingly participate in processes of global governance. The huge efforts which are made by these institutions to implement a reversal program and the critical reflection of the history of IVS, which can be found in the survey, clarify the potential of this process. In what way these important critical perspectives will be implemented in the governance of the future will depend in many ways on negotiation processes between NGOs and states, as increasing cooperation offers new possibilities and threats at the same time.

I want to finish my thesis with a quote of an aboriginal woman, which from my point of view should be taken as inspiration for International Voluntary Services all over the world:

If you've come to help me, you're wasting your time... But if you've come
because your liberation is bound with mine, then let us go together.

- Aboriginal Woman¹²-

¹² (Ehrichs 2009:2)

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8 Appendix

Empirical data collection by the author (Ole Engel):

Survey with the coordinators of the participating NGOs

NGO 1

- 1) Where do you see potentials and strengths of the Weltwärts-Program from your point of view?

Of course, it depends on the point of view you take. We are an NGO that runs projects in Tanzania. So our main aim is to fund these projects. Before Weltwärts, we used to have two to three placements for volunteers who worked in these projects. With Weltwärts, we have been able to expand up to seven placements. Without Weltwärts we would not have been able or willing to finance these additional volunteerships.

Before Weltwärts, we also prepared our volunteers thoroughly for their time in Tanzania, with Weltwärts, we have to invest a lot more time in the preparation, which seems to be helpful.

From the point of view of the volunteers, it should no longer be the question if one can afford this year abroad. In practice, however, most of our applicants still come from well-educated homes.

- 2) What are possible pitfalls and weaknesses of the Weltwärts-Program from your point of view?

We have had no difficulty in getting our Weltwärts placements acknowledged. But we see that the whole process is very bureaucratic and inflexible. I can understand that the German government wants to make sure that the money is spent wisely, but some of the regulations do not have this effect in practice.

It can be doubted whether the German government should exert so much influence in the field of NGOs.

- 3) What kind of state-interest would you assume regarding the Weltwärts-Program?

As far as I know, the programme sees itself as a "Lerndienst" rather than an "Entwicklungsdienst". So its main official focus is on sharpening the awareness of young people for "north-south problems". But in doing so the young people are somehow ambassadors of their own country.

To my mind, this program leads to a kind of streamlining of placements that does not do justice to the individual case.

- 4) How do you evaluate the Weltwärts-Program in reference to the global system of social inequality?

I think 3000 weltwärts-volunteers can only change the global system of social inequality by the fraction of an inch. To expect more would be unrealistic.

- 5) To which extent would you understand the Weltwärts-Program as a strengthening of global civil society respectively global civic engagement?

From the point of view of the volunteers (during his service and afterwards), this heightening of their awareness strengthens their willingness to commit themselves for our "one world". From the point of the NGO, it supports the commitment, but also streamlines it.

- 6) One central programmatic intention of the Weltwärts-Program is „to make Globalization fair“, to which extent do you believe that the program contributes to this aim?

See my answer to question 4

NGO 2

- 1) Wo liegen ihrer Meinung nach die Stärken/Potentiale des Weltwärts-Programms?

Ein geregelter Freiwilligendienst mit bestimmten Anforderungen und Qualitätsansprüchen. Die Vision unsere Gesellschaft globalisierungsoffener zu machen indem junge Menschen in die Welt gesandt werden ist charmant-Instrumente wie das Rückkehrerprogramm und die Erkenntnis , dass Rückkehrerarbeit der Weg zur Umsetzung sind, ist eine Notwendigkeit.

- 2) Wo sehen Sie Schwächen/Gefahren des Programms?

Die Budgetierung ist nicht in allen Aspekten ausreichend , um das Programm auf hohem Niveau durchzusetzen. Die Regelungen zum Teilnehmerfundraising sind überarbeitenswert, ebenso alle Bestimmungen zu Eigenmittelaufwendungen.

- 3) Welche staatlichen Interessen erkennen Sie hinter dem Weltwärts-Programm?

Die schöne Vorstellung ein Lernprogramm für unsere Gesellschaft durch ein Angebot an engagierte Jugend einzulösen. Aber auch die Notwendigkeit auf Herausforderungen der Globalisierung zu reagieren – Märkte zu sichern durch door opener- TeilnehmerInnen sind potentiell Verwertung für staatlich gesteuerte Interessen.

- 4) Wie beurteilen Sie den Einfluss von Weltwärts im Hinblick auf das internationale System sozialer Ungleichheit?

Im Mikrokosmos der Einsatzorte kann es durch das Auftreten der FW durchaus zu unerwünschten Nebeneffekten kommen , die auch zu Verzerrungen Richtung Ungleichheit führen können.

Durch engagiertes Lernen bei den Projektpartnern kann aber Rollensensibilisierung der TeilnehmerInnen auch dazu führen eigene Verantwortlichkeiten zu erkennen und einzulösen – vor Ort und als Rückkehrer-schließlich auch als potentieller Decision maker.

- 5) Inwieweit sehen Sie im Weltwärts-Programms eine Stärkung der globalen Zivilgesellschaft bzw. globalen zivilgesellschaftlichem Engagements?

Nord-Süd- Networking wird auf jeden Fall gefördert in dem Maße in dem unsere Projektpartner an einer Zusammenarbeit im Rahmen von FW-Entsendungen Gefallen finden.

- 6) Eine programmatische Zielsetzung des Welwärts-Programms ist „Globalisierung fairer zu gestalten“, inwieweit glauben Sie das Weltwärts zu dieser Zielsetzung beitragen kann?

Das Programm hat das Potential-vorausgesetzt es gelingt Teilnehmer entsprechend auszuwählen , zu schulen , fitte Partner zu finden und ein sehr gute Rückkeherarbeit aufzubauen.

Es braucht dafür eine angemessene Evaluation und eine ausreichende Mittelausstattung.

NGO 3

- 1) Where do you see potentials and strengths of the Weltwärts-Program from your point of view?
 - *Possibility for young people to gain intercultural experience and working experience in foreign countries*
 - *For graduates it is mostly a good start into their professional life*
 - *Volunteers come back with a lot of experience and what is the most important point with personal relations to people in other countries, I think the great potential is to build friendships, personal relations, because this is the most important in the global world, to make personal encounters possible*

- 2) What are possible pitfalls and weaknesses of the Weltwärts-Program from your point of view?
 - *there is no reverse program, this is not a real exchange*
 - *majority of volunteers are in my opinion too young, a person of 19 years has a completely different motivation than a mid-twenty*
 - *there should be paid more attention to the partners, what really would help them*
 - *what could be a contribution to reduce poverty from a young person (a lot of them are seeking adventure, of course there are always exceptions)*
 - *the success from a voluntary service is in one part up to the preparation and accompaniment and supervision*

- 3) What kind of state-interest would you assume regarding the Weltwärts-Program?
 - *publicity for BMZ to be more accepted*
 - *to give youngster a chance to be abroad*

4) How do you evaluate the Weltwärts-Program in reference to the global system of social inequality?

- *the program is an expression of social inequality, because only german youth goes Weltwärts*
- *it can't help to close the gap without a reverse program*
- *it can raise awareness for social inequality in german youth*

5) To which extent would you understand the Weltwärts-Program as a strengthening of global civil society respectively global civic engagement?

- *it could strengthen the civic engagement in Germany or Europe, in some cases the global engagement*

6) One central programmatic intention of the Weltwärts-Program is „to make Globalization fair“, to which extent do you believe that the program contributes to this aim?

- *the program itself has nothing to do with a fair globalization*
- *I only can repeat: without reverse program it is not fair*

7) Annotation:

To understand the program in a global context the partners must be involved in the opinionaire

NGO 4

1) Wo liegen ihrer Meinung nach die Stärken/Potentiale des Weltwärts-Programms?

- *Der Lerneffekt, Erfahrungen im entwicklungspolitischen Umfeld*
- *Der finanzielle Beitrag bietet jungen Menschen Chancen, die es sich sonst selbst nicht leisten könnten*
- *Wertschätzung gegenüber der PO durch finanzielle Unterstützung*
- *Qualität der pädagogischen Begleitung*

2) Wo sehen Sie Schwächen/Gefahren des Programms?

- *Mangelndes Einfühlungsvermögen von Freiwilligen im Partnerland, mangelnde Kompetenz in den Bereichen Länderkunde, interkulturelle Kommunikation*
- *Anspruchshaltung des eigenen Erfolges – Messbarkeit des Eigenbeitrags*
- *Bürokratie des Programms, hoher Verwaltungsaufwand*

3) Welche staatlichen Interessen erkennen Sie hinter dem Weltwärts-Programm?

- *Lerndienst*
- *Entwicklungspolitisches Interesse*
- *Förderung junger Menschen, unabhängig von den finanziellen Möglichkeiten der Eltern*
- *Stärkung interkultureller Kompetenzen*

4) Wie beurteilen Sie den Einfluss von Weltwärts im Hinblick auf das internationale System sozialer Ungleichheit?

Diese Frage verstehe ich leider nicht.

5) Inwieweit sehen Sie im Weltwärts-Programms eine Stärkung der globalen Zivilgesellschaft bzw. globalen zivilgesellschaftlichem Engagements?

- *Beitrag zur kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Thema Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*
- *Starke Verbundenheit/Identifikation des Einzelnen mit den Projekten im Partnerland, lange über den eigenen Einsatz hinaus*
- *Starke Prägung einer globalen Sichtweise*

6) Eine programmatische Zielsetzung des Weltwärts-Programms ist „Globalisierung fairer zu gestalten“, inwieweit glauben Sie, dass Weltwärts zu dieser Zielsetzung beitragen kann?

Wenn mit dieser Frage gemeint ist, dass bei Freiwilligen eine besondere Sensibilität für die Eine Welt geschaffen wird, dann bin ich überzeugt, dass Weltwärts einen großen Beitrag leistet, deutlich über den eigentlichen Dienst hinaus.

7) Anmerkung:

NGO 5

- 1) Wo liegen ihrer Meinung nach die Stärken/Potentiale des Weltwärts-Programms?

In den finanziellen Zuschüssen

- 2) Wo sehen Sie Schwächen/Gefahren des Programms?

Völlige Überbürokratisierung

Schaffen von finanziellen Anspruchsmentalitäten der Freiwilligen

Kein Zweiwegsystem (Hin von hier, her von dort)

- 3) Welche staatlichen Interessen erkennen Sie hinter dem Weltwärts-Programm?

Angegeben sind: Schaffen eines größeren Akzeptanzfeldes für Entwicklungshilfe.

- 4) Wie beurteilen Sie den Einfluss von Weltwärts im Hinblick auf das internationale System sozialer Ungleichheit?

Einerseits stärkt es das System; andererseits, wenn es denn als Lerndienst hart durchgedrückt würde, statt Helfersyndrom, vermag es Sensibilität für eigene Anteile an dem System zu erzeugen, vor allem, wenn der Alltag der Menschen in Familien geteilt wurde.

- 5) Inwieweit sehen Sie im Weltwärts-Programms eine Stärkung der globalen Zivilgesellschaft bzw. globalen zivilgesellschaftlichem Engagements?

Nicht

- 6) Eine programmatische Zielsetzung des Welwärts-Programms ist „Globalisierung fairer zu gestalten“, inwieweit glauben Sie das Weltwärts zu dieser Zielsetzung beitragen kann?

Nein

- 7) Anmerkung:

NGO 6

1) Wo liegen ihrer Meinung nach die Stärken/Potentiale des Weltwärts-Programms?

- *Förderung des interkulturellen Austausches (Weltwärts als Lerndienst)*
- *Voneinander lernen (in einer fremden Kultur + von einer fremden Kultur, Vorurteile können abgebaut werden)*
- *Sensibilisierung für andere Menschen, andere Kulturen*
- *Freiwillige kehren bereichert aus dem Einsatz zurück*

2) Wo sehen Sie Schwächen/Gefahren des Programms?

- *Eine Zielgruppe (Jugendliche, die sich den Freiwilligendienst ohne finanziell nicht leisten können) wird nicht erreicht (überwiegend bewerben sich Abiturienten)*
- *100 € Taschengeld ist viel – teilweise wird von den Partnern nicht verstanden, warum die Freiwilligen so viel Geld erhalten (in sehr vielen Ländern verdienen die Einheimischen in ihrem Beruf nicht so viel wie die Freiwilligen an Taschengeld bekommen)*
- *Das Programm ist sehr bürokratisch (hoher zeitlicher Aufwand für die finanzielle Abwicklung)*
- *Reverse-Programm (ausländische Freiwillige machen einen Freiwilligendienst in Deutschland) wird nicht weiter verfolgt*

3) Welche staatlichen Interessen erkennen Sie hinter dem Weltwärts-Programm?

- *Weltwärts verkauft sich als „Der neue entwicklungspolitische Freiwilligendienst“, dabei ist Weltwärts ein finanzielles Förderprogramm und kein eigenständiger Dienst – es ist schade, dass Freiwillige dann häufig von ihrem „Weltwärts-Einsatz“ sprechen, so kommt der Name der Entsendeorganisation leider sehr schnell in den Hintergrund*

- 4) Wie beurteilen Sie den Einfluss von Weltwärts im Hinblick auf das internationale System sozialer Ungleichheit?
- *Das weltwärts-Programm fördert den interkulturellen Lerndienst und dieser wiederum fördert die Sensibilität der Jugendlichen für soziale Ungleichheit*
- 5) Inwieweit sehen Sie im Weltwärts-Programms eine Stärkung der globalen Zivilgesellschaft bzw. globalen zivilgesellschaftlichem Engagements?
- *Das Engagement der Rückkehrern, sich entwicklungspolitisch zu engagieren, ist sehr hoch – meiner Meinung nach haben sich durch ehemalige Freiwillige und deren Engagement viele neue Initiativen etabliert, die in der Präsenz zuvor noch nicht da waren*
- 6) Eine programmatische Zielsetzung des Welwärts-Programms ist „Globalisierung fairer zu gestalten“, inwieweit glauben Sie das Weltwärts zu dieser Zielsetzung beitragen kann?
- *Ist schwer einzuschätzen. Dies hängt sicherlich von dem Engagement der Freiwilligen sowie auch von dem Erfolg der neuen Initiativen ab, die sich vor allem durch Rückkehrer gebildet haben. Wenn Weltwärts erreichen will, Globalisierung fairer zu gestalten, müssen den Rückkehrern Angebote gemacht werden, wie sich nach ihrem Einsatzende weiter engagieren können*
- 7) Anmerkung:

NGO 7

1) Wo liegen ihrer Meinung nach die Stärken/Potentiale des Weltwärts-Programms?

Das Programm ist nach unserem Verständnis ein subsidiäres staatliches Förderprogramm um zivilgesellschaftliche Partnerschaftskontakte von aus Deutschland zu Partnern in „Entwicklungsländern“ finanziell abzusichern, so dass es unbesehen des Einkommens jedem jungen Menschen möglich ist, an so einem Programm teil zu nehmen.

2) Wo sehen Sie Schwächen/Gefahren des Programms?

Das Programm enthält sich jeglichen Partnerschaftsgedankens und schließt die Förderung eines Reverse Gedankens und Programms aus und kein Interesse an binationalem Lernen hat.

Es ist in seiner Grundidee sehr ethnozentristisch angelegt (Freiwilliger Entwicklungshilfedienst) und missachtet die Bereitschaft einer Diskussion auf Augenhöhe

3) Welche staatlichen Interessen erkennen Sie hinter dem Weltwärts-Programm?

Aushebelung des Subsidiaritätsprinzips, zentralistische Gängelung zivilgesellschaftlicher Initiativen, Täuschung der Öffentlichkeit das Weltwärts-Programm sein ein staatlicher Freiwilligendienst, der aber zu 100 % von den Trägern organisiert, begleitet, abgesprochen und durchgeführt wird und zwar seit mehr als 2 Jahrzehnten als von Weltwärts noch gar nicht die Rede war

4) Wie beurteilen Sie den Einfluss von Weltwärts im Hinblick auf das internationale System sozialer Ungleichheit?

Wie gesagt Weltwärts unterstützt nur finanziell einen Freiwilligendienst. Der Dienst schafft es in weiten Teilen Bildungsvorsprünge zu transferieren und auch teilweise finanziell und ideell soziale Projekte zu unterstützen. jeder Freiwillige lernt im Umkehrschluss auch etwas über Globalisierungszusammenhänge und wenn er/sie mit offenen Auge durch die Welt geht auch möglicherweise eine Neudefinition von Glück oder Sinn trotz offenkundigem Elend

- 5) Inwieweit sehen Sie im Weltwärts-Programms eine Stärkung der globalen Zivilgesellschaft bzw. globalen zivilgesellschaftlichem Engagements?

WW behindert für mich aus staatlichen, parteipolitischen und auch wahltaktischen Erwägungen zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement wo es geht. Die Gängelung und Überreglementierung spricht der Unterstützung zivilgesellschaftlichen Eng. Hohn.

- 6) Eine programmatische Zielsetzung des Welwärts-Programms ist „Globalisierung fairer zu gestalten“, inwieweit glauben Sie das Weltwärts zu dieser Zielsetzung beitragen kann?

Das gestalten die Trägerorganisationen, die Partner vor Ort und die Freiwilligen. WW fördert (in immer eingeschränkteren Maße) die Rahmenbedingungen, aber diesen Dienst hat es auch schon ohne WW gegeben und er hat funktioniert. Deswegen schätze ich den WW-Anteil an der Umsetzung eines faireren Miteinanders auf einer Skala von 0 – 100 mit max. 5 ein (fast nicht)

NGO 8

1) Wo liegen ihrer Meinung nach die Stärken/Potentiale des Weltwärts-Programms?

Jugendliche werden durch ihre Mitarbeit vor Ort (in den Einsatzländern) zu Multiplikatoren, die Erfahrungen und Integrationswissen mit zurück in ihre Heimat nehmen, um dort ein weiteres Umfeld für globale Problematiken sensibilisieren zu können. Sie tragen einen großen Teil zum gegenseitigen Lernen und Verständnis bei.

2) Wo sehen Sie Schwächen/Gefahren des Programms?

Unglaublich großer bürokratischer Aufwand und so gut wie nicht zu bewältigen für kleine, ehrenamtlich geführte Organisationen. Dabei bleiben die Kosten für die Entsendeorganisation de facto dieselben, wie bei einer Entsendung ohne Weltwärts-Beteiligung – aufgrund der vielen Anforderungen. Das Programm verbessert lediglich die Situation des Freiwilligen (Taschengeld). Hinzu kommt, dass manche Service-Anbieter (bspw. für Vorbereitungs- und Nachbereitungsseminare) prompt mit Einführung des Programms ihre Kosten verdoppeln.

3) Welche staatlichen Interessen erkennen Sie hinter dem Weltwärts-Programm?

Globales Lernen – beidseitig. Und zwar an der Basis, nicht in groß angelegten Programmen, die sich auf einer „höheren“ Ebene abspielen (bspw. GIZ).

4) Wie beurteilen Sie den Einfluss von Weltwärts im Hinblick auf das internationale System sozialer Ungleichheit?

s.o. beidseitiges Verständnis fördern. V.a. aber in der Sensibilisierung des Umfelds nach der Rückkehr ins Heimatland. Direkt vor Ort sehe ich relativ wenig Wirkung bezüglich dieser Frage.

- 5) Inwieweit sehen Sie im Weltwärts-Programms eine Stärkung der globalen Zivilgesellschaft bzw. globalen zivilgesellschaftlichem Engagements?

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- 6) Eine programmatische Zielsetzung des Welwärts-Programms ist „Globalisierung fairer zu gestalten“, inwieweit glauben Sie das Weltwärts zu dieser Zielsetzung beitragen kann?

Gar nicht. Das passiert auf Wirtschaftsebene, nicht auf der Ebene von Freiwilligendiensten von Jugendlichen.

- 7) Anmerkung:

Gerne weitere präzise Fragen direkt an mich ☺